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LOUIS D. LEVINE

*Two Neo-Assyrian
Stelae from Iran*



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Occasional Paper 23
ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY
ROYAL ONTARIO MUSEUM

LOUIS D. LEVINE *Two Neo-Assyrian
Stelae from Iran*

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Preface

With this publication, the result of five years of intermittent work on the two stelae is finally presented. Although philological research is usually not thought of as part of an archaeological project, the publication of these stelae is an integral part of the Royal Ontario Museum's Iran Project. The Sargon II stele was discovered in the course of a season's work by the Iran Project, and I have been given every encouragement by the Project in my work on this text. While the Tiglath Pileser III stele was more tangentially related to our archaeological work in western Iran, the same help and encouragement were extended there as well.

The text of the Sargon stele was originally included as an appendix to the Ph.D. dissertation which I submitted to the University of Pennsylvania in 1969. In preparing the text for that dissertation, Professors Erle Leichty and J. A. Brinkman were of great assistance. To them I tender my thanks. In the preparation of the Tiglath Pileser stele, Professor A. Kirk Grayson undertook the onerous task of checking the text against the photographs, and suggested many improved readings, and Professor R.F.G. Sweet read the entire manuscript. To them as well, my thanks are due. In all cases, the mistakes which remain are my own.

The stelae themselves were not readily accessible to the author, and as a result much of the work was done from photographs, and in the case of the Sargon text, from a latex squeeze kindly prepared by Mr. S. Kambaxsh of the Iranian Archaeological Service. Most of the questionable passages were checked against the originals at some point in the course of preparing this work, but a final collation was not possible. The copies were made by Maureen Gallery from the photos, the squeeze and my transliterations. My thanks to her as well.

There are many to whom I should like to express my indebtedness, even in so short a work as this, but among them some must be singled out. T. Cuyler Young, Jr., as colleague, director of the Iran Project and friend, has borne the brunt of my misgivings, and has so generously given of his time that all I can say is "thank you." Professor H. Tadmor has spent many an evening (and some wee hours of the morning) discussing historical and historiographic problems with me and has helped me through the maze of Tiglath Pileser III's inscriptions. His help has been of great value. H.E.M. Pahlbod, Minister of Culture, and Mr. A. Pourmand, Director General of the Iranian Archaeological Service, extended me their gracious permission to publish the results of my work on the Sargon

stele. For permission to publish the Tiglath Pileser test, I thank Mr. P. Rabenou.

Finally, two members of the fairer sex (and very fair they are indeed) have borne the real brunt of this work. Ruth DeRoche has prepared the manuscript in her incomparably competent manner, and has lived with my many idiosyncrasies and impossible demands. Without her, the whole task would have been infinitely more complicated. My wife, who first suffered through the Ph.D. process, has now had to bear this as well. To her, my love.

Louis D. Levine

Abbreviations

AAWB

Abhandlungen der Königlich Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, philosophisch-historische Klasse.

An. Or. 43

Brinkman, J. A., *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia*, Analecta Orientalia 43. Rome, 1968.

AOAT 6

Parpola, Simo, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Band 6. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970.

CH

Codex Hammurapi

HEI

Cameron, George G., *History of Early Iran*. Chicago, 1936.

HGZ

Levine, Louis D., *Contributions to the Historical Geography of the Zagros in the Neo-Assyrian Period*. Ann Arbor, 1969 (Thesis).

HKL

Borger, R., *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*, Band 1. Berlin, 1967.

ICC

Layard, A. H., *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character*. London, 1851.

LAR

Luckenbill, D. D., *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, vol. 1. Chicago, 1926.

NPN

Gelb, I. F., P. M. Purves, A. A. MacRae, *Nuzi Personal Names*. Chicago, 1963.

Salonen, *Hippologica*

Salonen, Armas, *Hippologica Accadica*, Helsinki, 1956.

STP

Barnett, R. D. and M. Falkner, *The Sculptures of Tiglath-Pileser III*. London, 1962.

* Indicates broken dimension

All other abbreviations follow the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary.

To my parents

Moe and Jeanne Levine

Introduction

Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran

At the height of its power, the neo-Assyrian empire was the greatest that the Near East had yet seen. It held sway from the Nile to the Iranian plateau and from the mountains of Anatolia to the Persian Gulf, and included within its boundaries countless peoples and ethnic groups. Ruling from a small, relatively poor homeland on the upper Tigris, it was able to exert its influence upon much of the then civilized world. Its imperial capital at Nineveh was the largest city that man had ever built, and it was but one of a number of urban centres located in the Assyrian heartland. But for all that it achieved in the realm of conquest and expansion, perhaps the most startling facet of the Assyrian experience was the rapidity with which it collapsed. For, less than 50 years after reaching its greatest height, Assyria fell to the onslaught of the Medes and the Babylonians. The history of the rise, expansion and fall of this empire has been and continues to be one of the central concerns of ancient historians.

The two texts published in this volume are of considerable import to our understanding of Assyrian imperial history. Both date from the second half of the neo-Assyrian period; the first to the reign of Tiglath Pileser III (744-727 B.C.), the second to the reign of Sargon II (721-705 B.C.). Their actual composition is separated by only 21 years. More important, however, both came from Iran, and as such are the only two neo-Assyrian monuments so far published which can be traced to this part of the world. Thus, they add significantly to our understanding of Assyria's relations with its closest neighbours to the east, the various groups inhabiting the Zagros mountains.

Assyrian relations with the east differed from her relations with other parts of the empire. Indeed, it would be fair to say that Assyria did not consider this area of great significance in the total imperial picture, and spent relatively little effort in understanding the implications of its eastern policy. The disastrous effects of this disregard are most apparent in the last episode of Assyrian history, for it was from the east that the final blow came. In 614 B.C., the Medes under the leadership of Cyaxares invaded Assyria and destroyed a number of cities; two years later, in 612, a coalition of

Medes and Babylonians destroyed Nineveh and effectively put an end to the Assyrian empire.

Assyrian involvement with the east began in earnest in the early ninth century. Under Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) the most westerly of the Zagros areas, called by the Assyrians Zamua, was brought under imperial vassalage, and shortly thereafter was actually incorporated into the empire's provincial system. This pattern of first imposing vassalage and then incorporating the territory outright was often used by the Assyrians against smaller states, especially those in the west. In the east, however, this policy was much less consistently applied. Ashurnasirpal's son, Shalmaneser III (858-824) campaigned eastward a number of times, yet never established any lasting control over the Zagros. Those kings who followed Shalmaneser were, if we judge the records properly, even less successful at achieving permanent hegemony in the east.

After a period of Assyrian weakness, which witnessed the expansion of Urartu, Assyria's great rival to the north, and the concomitant loss of many of the gains made by Shalmaneser, Assyria once again began to expand. Under the leadership of Tiglath Pileser III, Urartian advances in the west were checked, Babylonia was conquered, and some measure of internal stability was restored to the empire. However, once again the east received relatively little attention. Perhaps because Tiglath Pileser envisaged no serious threat arising from this quarter, he devoted only two campaigns to the Zagros. The first, in 744, undertook the recapture of the areas in the vicinity of the Diyala. Unfortunately, the texts which relate this campaign are incomplete, and we are thus limited in our understanding of the events. However, from the annals it is clear that some of the lesser Zagros states were invaded and despoiled, while others were incorporated into the empire.

Tiglath Pileser's second campaign to the east was in the year 737. This was a much more ambitious undertaking, and penetrated further into the mountains than had the campaign of 744, as is immediately apparent when one compares the entries in the eponym list for the two campaigns. The former, that of 744, is listed as "to Namri," an area on the western-most marches of the Zagros, where the Diyala emerges from the Darband-i-Khan. The latter, on the other hand, is listed as "to Media," which is located well up on the Iranian plateau, stretching eastward from the Mahi-dasht to beyond the horizon of the Assyrian texts. It is to the second of these campaigns that the Tiglath Pileser stele published here belongs.

Unfortunately, as a rapid review of this stele will demonstrate, the text is badly damaged, and little remains of the events of 737. However, when the present text is combined with the information

about this campaign preserved in the annals, a picture of the Assyrian effort in 737 begins to emerge. The usual pillaging, taking of prisoners and receipt of tribute are recorded. Missing for the most part, however, are statements about the conquered territories being incorporated into the Assyrian empire. Of equal interest, and new in the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III are the names of the two rulers from the countries of Mannea and Ellipi. The former is Iranzu, the latter Talta, both of whom bring gifts to Tiglath Pileser. We shall return to these two personalities shortly.

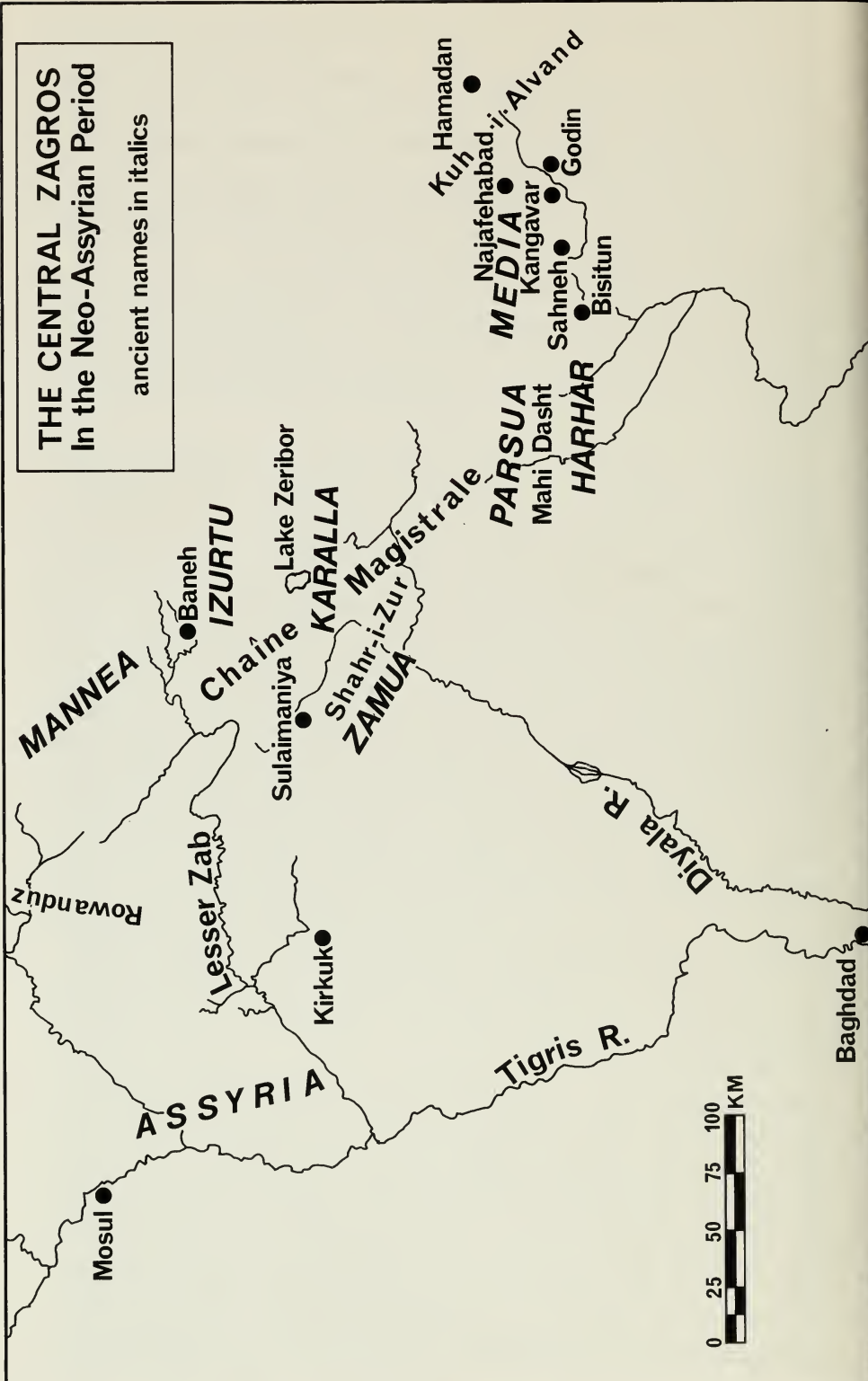
After the year 737, Tiglath Pileser did not campaign again in the Zagros, and his son, Shalmaneser V, was exclusively preoccupied during his brief reign with the west. It is thus not until the reign of Sargon II (721-705) that the east figures once again in the Assyrian sources.

Of all the Assyrian monarchs, none pursued as vigorous an eastern policy as did Sargon. This may be attributed in large measure to his desire to remove the spectre of Urartu from Assyria. After her defeat in the west by Tiglath Pileser, Urartu no longer posed a threat to Assyrian aspirations in that area. However, the neighbour to the north still exerted considerable influence in the Zagros, and thus Assyria remained exposed to danger on her eastern flank. All of Sargon's policy in the Zagros can be viewed as an effort to eliminate Urartian influence in that area. In order to accomplish this, Sargon renewed old alliances where possible, and incorporated recalcitrant principalities into the empire when alliance proved ineffective. In the annals of this king, we once again meet Iranzu and Talta. The latter remained loyal to Assyria until his death late in Sargon's reign, and it was only then that Sargon had to intervene militarily in the affairs of Ellipi. Iranzu was not so fortunate, as two of his cities revolted against him by Sargon's third year. Although Sargon was able to quell the uprising, Iranzu is not heard of again, and so we may assume that he was a victim of either the revolt itself or of the Assyrians, who may have sought out a more efficient leader to rule in Mannea.

It is important to note at this point that Sargon was building his eastern policy upon a foundation laid by Tiglath Pileser. This is clear from the mention of Talta and Iranzu in the records of the earlier monarch. Thus, what had appeared until recently as a series of raids by Tiglath Pileser to the east, similar to those of Shalmaneser III, now emerges as a conscious effort on the part of this ruler to build a series of alliances between Assyria and the Zagros states. The success of this venture can be measured by the fact that it was 18 years and two monarchs later before the alliances forged by Tiglath Pileser with Mannea necessitated the return of Assyrian

THE CENTRAL ZAGROS
In the Neo-Assyrian Period

ancient names in *italics>*



force to this area. With Ellipi, the record is better still.

The broad outlines of Sargon's policy toward the east can, as we have already noted, be discerned. The objective was elimination of the influence of Urartu and its allies in the Zagros, especially in Mannea. To this end Sargon devoted five campaigns, the most important occurring in his eighth year. This programme seems to have been precipitated by interference on the part of Urartu and her Zagros ally, Zikirtu, in Mannean affairs during Sargon's third year. After successfully quelling the disturbance, Sargon did not return immediately to the east. However, starting in year six, for the next three years, he campaigned in the Zagros.

Year six, the year from which the Sargon stele published here dates, was for the most part devoted to areas south of Mannea. Apparently unwilling to launch a major campaign against Urartu without first securing his southern flank, Sargon campaigned in the central Zagros and along the Great Khorasan Road. Again the immediate reason for the campaign seems to have been Urartian pressure on the Mannaeans to revolt, but the reply by Sargon was of far greater scope than necessary to put down a local insurrection. As a result of this campaign, areas formerly bound to Assyria in a suzerain relationship were incorporated into the empire as provinces, and much of western Media witnessed the might of Assyrian arms, with its deterrent effect.

Year seven was used to finish the business begun the previous season. Mannea, which had lost territory to Urartu, had that territory restored, and the areas immediately to the south of Mannea were reconquered and stabilized. With his southern flank secured, Sargon could finally turn to the sources of the trouble, Urartu, Andia and Zikirtu.

The events of the eighth campaign are recorded in more complete form than are those of any other year. Indeed, this campaign of Sargon is better known than any campaign of any Assyrian king. Much has been written about the text which records the events of this year, and it is unnecessary to recapitulate the details here. In broad outlines, Sargon marched against Andia, Zikirtu and Urartu. His campaign was a complete success both militarily and politically. Although Urartu was not destroyed, its influence in the Zagros was shattered. That Urartu is not mentioned in the texts after the eighth campaign bears silent witness to this. Thus, Assyria's sphere of influence was firmly established and its flank secured. Aside from minor attempts by Elam in the south, Assyria's hegemony in the east was not seriously challenged until sometime in the reign of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.)

Year nine, the last of the series of campaigns to the east, was a

relatively minor operation, and was directed mainly against the central Zagros. One has the distinct impression that its purpose was a show of force, capping the efforts of the previous year. A revolt in Karalla was the excuse for this campaign, but again the size of the response was far beyond that called for by the stimulus. Even with this larger response, Sargon devoted only half of the campaign season to the east, a fact that points up how by that time, the situation in the Zagros was well under control.

Following Sargon, our sources for reconstructing events in Iran change in character and become more difficult to evaluate. The catalytic factor in Iranian history during this period may have been the invasion of the Scythians and/or Cimmerians, who seriously upset the precarious balance of power in the Zagros, and perhaps precipitated the formation of the Median league. This, however, takes us beyond the scope of the present monograph, and is best left to be dealt with elsewhere.

In summary, then, it can be noted that the two stelae presented here fill important gaps in our knowledge of Assyrian policy in the east. The earlier indicates that Tiglath Pileser was instrumental in formulating a coherent eastern policy, even if he seems not to have thought it very important. The later text supplies additional details for the sixth campaign of Sargon, the start of his major effort in the Zagros, and helps put that initial campaign in a perspective against which the events which follow can now be viewed.

The Stele of Tiglath Pileser III

The first of the two monuments discussed in this monograph is a new stele of the king Tiglath Pileser III (Pl. I). This stele is now in the possession of K. Rabenou, Ltd. The exact circumstances of its discovery are unknown to the author. It is said to come from somewhere in western Iran, perhaps Luristan, but no further information on its find spot nor the date when it was found are available. It first came to the author's attention in 1967, and was probably discovered some time shortly before then.

The stele is inscribed on a grey-white dolomite.¹ In its present condition, the monument is badly damaged and incomplete, but enough is preserved to make it clear that it belongs to the most common artistic genre of Assyrian royal stelae, the genre which portrays the figure of the king in profile over the major portion of the front of the stele.² The figure of the king in this particular case is broken along a line just below the shoulders, and the entire lower portion of the stele is missing (Pl. II). The left edge of the stele has also been broken or cut away. Finally, the body of the stone has been hollowed out to facilitate shipment, so that when the stone is viewed from above, it resembles a large letter L turned on its back. The entire left side of the stele, as well as the back, is missing, and we are uninformed as to whether they were once in any way inscribed.

The stele now measures 45.5 cm. across the front at its widest point, 81 cm. high at the maximum and 26.5 cm. from front to back along the preserved right side. Of these three measurements, only the last represents an original dimension. As was noted, the left edge of the stele has been destroyed, leaving the measurement across the front short of what it originally was. By projecting the curve of the frame around the figure of the king, and allowing for the same size border on the left side of the stele as is preserved on the right, the original dimension across the front can be reconstructed as *c.* 60 cm. An estimate of the original height of the monument is not as easily determined. By using a ratio of size of head to size of body for the figure of the king that is comparable with other fully preserved figures on known stelae, a height of 170 cm. from the top of the stele to the feet of the king can be estimated. However, this figure does not include any allowance for a base to the stele, and no estimate can be made, as the base varies considerably from exemplar to exemplar. Thus, the original dimensions of this stele of Tiglath Pileser III must have been approximately 60 x 26 x 170+ cm. As such, it falls among the smaller stelae of this type.³

Description of the stele

As can be seen from Pl. 1, the king is shown facing to his right. Although the facial features are largely worn away, the rest of the head is well preserved. The king wears the high conical crown that is typical of all portrayals of royalty in monuments of this class (as opposed to the stelae of Mušēzib Marduk and Bel Harran bela ušur, for example, where these officials are portrayed as bare-headed).⁴ The crown is not the elaborate one portrayed on *STP*, XCVI with three rows of bosses, but a simpler version of the same, with only a single row of bosses around the top and the narrow band on the bottom that widens in the front over the forehead of the king.⁵ From beneath the crown, or attached to it, hangs a single ribbon, which is draped over the left shoulder of the king.⁶ The ear is, unfortunately, effaced, and it is impossible to determine whether the king is depicted wearing an earring.⁷ The beard is the standard square-cut one, but apparently there was only a triple band of curls at the bottom of it, and none in the centre.⁸ The hair is worn in the usual manner, hanging over the shoulders with a triple row of curls at the end.

Seven divine symbols are carved in two rows in front of and above the hat of the king. In the top row are, from left to right, the stylus of Nabu, the forked lightning of Adad, the star of Ishtar, the seven balls of Sibitti, and the shepherd's crook, perhaps symbolizing the god Amurru. Below these are the winged disk of Ashur or Shamash and the crescent and full moon of Sin. As the invocation to the gods is not fully preserved in the inscription, it is impossible to relate the order of the symbols to this invocation, or to compare the gods mentioned in the text to those represented by their symbols. However, it seems that at least some of the gods in the inscription are not represented by divine symbols (e.g., Nergal in I, 5).

An unusual feature of this stele is the high border over the figure of the king. Whereas all other known stelae of this genre have a rounded top with the border, where one exists, more or less constant along the sides and top, our monument is rather a rectangular box into which the usual shape of stelae of this sort has been cut. This anomaly is further heightened by the fact that the text of the stele begins above the inset containing the figure of the king, the first 15 lines being inscribed in this space.

The text continues immediately below the symbols of the gods, and fills the space in front of the face of the king, as well as the area behind his head. It is continued up onto the narrow border preserved on the right-hand side of the stele, and it can be assumed that it was also inscribed on the left-hand border. From the neck down, the inscription runs over the figure itself, but it avoids such

obvious obstacles as the beard.

Since the base of the stele is not preserved, it is impossible to be certain of the number of lines that must originally have been inscribed on the front. At a minimum, however, some 45 lines are missing, giving a total of at least 79 lines on the obverse. A reduction of this estimate by three or four lines may be necessitated by the fact that the border to the right of the hat is badly mutilated and it is now impossible to see if it originally bore any inscription. For the purpose of this count, however, it is assumed that this border was inscribed.

The text of the front continues on the right side of the stele, where our column II is inscribed. On this side, 36 lines of the text are preserved. Here, too, the total original number must have been at least some 80 lines. On both the front and side of the stele, there are lines ruled between the lines of characters, and again on both the front and side, the first of these lines is left blank. The reason for the latter is unclear, and as far as I know, it is a unique phenomenon on monuments of this sort.

The literary form of the stele

Although the stele is only partially preserved and much of what remains of the text is mutilated, it is nonetheless possible to determine with some certainty the general style of the inscription. The stele opens with an invocation to the gods, as is usual in monuments of this sort. This invocation runs for some 17 to 21 lines, at which point the text enumerates the royal epithets. These epithets occupy 13 lines, and although they are badly damaged, there does not seem to be any indication of the king's genealogy, as would be expected in the case of a usurper such as Tiglath Pileser.

On line 34, the main historical narrative begins. At present, the evidence indicates that this part of the text was arranged chronologically, as is the case in the stele of Sargon II also published here. The most important indication of this chronological arrangement is the occurrence of the phrase *ina mahre palêya* in line 36.⁹ The other indication that the events are arranged chronologically is found on the second column. There, lines 1-23 list the names of those kings from Syria who bore tribute to Tiglath Pileser in the year 737 B.C.¹⁰ This is then followed by the beginning of the account of the campaign against the Iranian tribes in the same year. If we view the list of tribute bearers that precedes the Iranian campaign as a postscript to the events of the years 743-738 B.C., when Tiglath Pileser was solely concerned with the west, then the fact that this list is followed by the events of the year 737 points to a chronological arrangement.

One final problem remains with this proposal of chronological ordering. If the column which we have labeled II is indeed the second column, it would mean that a major share of the text was devoted to the events of the campaign of 737.¹¹ This would be even more the case if the back and left side of the stele continued the historical narration. It is more than likely, however, that the back of the stele and the left side were columns II and III respectively, and that the preserved right side was originally column IV. If this is the case, then the proportion of the text devoted to the last campaign, that of 737, is not greater than would be expected.

Although the end of the text is missing, one can postulate that it contained a statement as to where the stele was set up, and that this was in turn followed by a series of curse clauses meant to protect the stele from harm. The loss of the place name, coupled with the lack of an exact find spot is particularly sad, as none of the place names on the Iranian plateau mentioned in the Assyrian records can be definitely identified with present day locations.

The date of the stele

Since no eponym is preserved on the stele, and since the end of the text is missing, there is no way of establishing the date of its composition with certainty. However, two lines of evidence lead to the conclusion that it was probably written and erected in the year 737 B.C.

The first line of evidence proceeds from the fact that the stele is said to come from Iran. According to the eponym list,¹² Tiglath Pileser conducted only two campaigns to areas east of Assyria. The first of these (743 B.C.) is listed as "to Namri," the area along the Diyala between the Jebel Hamrin and the Baranand Dagh.¹³ However, that this campaign also included more easterly areas is clear from the annals relating to that campaign, which mention Zagros principalities such as Bit Sangibuti. The second campaign to the east was conducted in the year 737, and is listed in the eponym lists as "to Media." For the Assyrians, Media designated the area along the Great Khorasan Road between the Mahi-Dasht and the Kuh-i-Alvand.¹⁴ Since the ascription of the stele to Iran need not be doubted, it is most likely that the date of its erection should correspond to one of these two campaigns.

The second line of evidence allows us to conclude that it must have been during the second of these campaigns that the stele was erected. The first 23 lines of column II present us with a list of tributaries from the western parts of the Assyrian empire. From the annals, it is known that the areas mentioned in this list were not brought under Assyrian control until the completion of the cam-

paign of 738. However, there are some divergences between the list on the stele and the list of tribute bearers for 738 as recorded in the annals.¹⁵ Thus, for Hiram of Tyre in the 738 list, we have Tubail in our text. Since the territories were not under Assyrian control earlier than 738, the list of the stele must postdate that year, and thus be 737 or later.

Although the possibility of a date after 737 cannot be ruled out, the likelihood of such a later date is not great. The usual pattern was that stelae, and especially stelae found outside Assyria, were erected after the conclusion of a campaign, to celebrate the successful end of the campaign and to bear witness to the might of Assyria and her arms. Since Tiglath Pileser never returned to the east after the campaign of 737, it is unlikely that the stele would have been erected after that date. This argument, taken in conjunction with the positive indications noted above, points then to a date of 737 B.C. for the erection of this stele.

COLUMN I—FRONT

1. [d^{aš}+šur^dE] N.LÍL.LA DINGIR.DI[NGIR] mu-šⁱ-im
NAM.MEŠ
2. [X X mu-ki-i]n GIŠ.HUR DÙ-ú mit-hur-ti pa-qid
3. [X X X (X)] mu-X-kin X X X X
4. [X X X X] gi-um na-šⁱ DUB šⁱ-mat DI[NGIR].DINGIR
5. [X X X (X)]^dU+GUR GÌR.ĜÌRĜÌR
6. [X X X] X la^{nā}-šⁱ X X X š^ú
7. [X X X] ki-ni X GISSU DINGIR(?) . . . MEŠ
8. [X X X] na-din GIŠ.PA AGA B[ALA . . . šar-ru-t]i
9. [X X X] tim(?)—me mu-kám—mir tuh—di HÉ.NUⁿ ū^ī
[HÉ.GÁL]
10. [X X X] MAT mim—ma šum—š^ú mu-ban—[. . .] X
11. [X X X] X MAT TAQ ŠE GA ŠA MU [. . .]
12. [DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.M]ES a-li-kut pa-an^{ĜĚRĪNĜĚ}HI.<A>-ya
RU [X] X [X] X
13. [. . .] BA^{ĜUL} TU UĒ
14. [. . .]^dU+GUR
15. [. . . ?] AN(?)—e(?) ù(?) KI(?)—tim(?)
16. [. . .] IL(?)
17. [. . .] X MU(?)
- 18–20 missing
21. [^ITUKUL—ti—A.É.ŠÁR].A GAR^dBE NUN SANGA aš+šur
22. [X X mu-uš—]te-^u-u aš-ri-ku-nu ENS[Í]
23. [KUR aš+šur] NUNUZ URU BAL.TIL šu-qu-ru
24. [X X X bi-b]íl l^{ib}-bi^{dĚRU} NIN GAL—ti
25. [X X X] X ARHUŠ TUG—š^ú SA(?)TI X
26. [MAN GAL MAN KAL MAN kiš-š]á—ti MAN KUR aš+šur KI
MAN KUR šu-me-rim^{ĜĪ}
27. [ù akkadi KI MAN kib-ra]t 4 SIPA ba-’u-la-a-ti[m]
28. [ša-kin an-du-r]a(?)—ar KUR aš+šur mu-^{īb} l^{ib}-bi X
29. [mu-ra-ap-pi-iš] mi-šir KUR [aš+]šur
30. [X X X X] DI E šá DÙ-šⁱ-na DA X X
31. [X X X X] NA QI BU ŠI UKU.MEŠ ŠA^{ĜTUP}
32. [X X X] šá SAG a-na re-’u—[ut]
33. [UKU.MEŠ iš-ku-u]n—š^ú

COLUMN I—FRONT

1. [To Ashur, ru]ler of the gods, determiner of the fates,
2. . . . who set]s the decree and creates harmony, who orders
3. . . .
4. . . . who carries the tablet of the fate of the go[ds]
5. . . . Nergal, lion of lions
6. . . . who carries his . . .
7. . . .
8. . . . who bestows the sceptre, crown and b[ala symbol of kingsh]ip
9. . . . who heaps up abundance, riches and [plenty]
10. . . .
11. . . .
12. [the gre]at [gods] who precede my troops . . .
13. . . .
14. . . . Nergal
15. . . . heaven(?) and earth(?)
16. . . .
17. . . .
18. . . .
19. . . .
20. . . .
21. [Tiglath Pile]er, the governor of Enlil, the prince, priest of Ashur
22. . . . who reme]mbers their places, the vice-regent of
23. [Assur,] the precious offspring of Baltil
24. . . . favou]rite of Sarpanitu, the great lady
25. . . . showed him mercy . . .
26. [the great king, the mighty king, king of the wo]rld, king of Assur, king of Sumer
27. [and Akkad, king of the] four [quart]ers, shepherd of mankind,
28. [decreer of the freed]om of Assur, who pleases . . .
29. [who broadens] the boundary of Assur
30. . . .
31. . . . the people of . . .
32. . . . to shepherd
33. [the people he plac]ed him.

34. [ina u₄-šú-ma^daš+] šūr^d EN.LÍL.LÁ
 35. [AD.MEŠ-ya] DU^u-[a] a-na šum-qut la ma-^ggir ú-^šša-aš-pir
 36. [X X ina ma] ħ-ri-e BAL-yá ina 6 ITU šá [ina GIŠ.GU.ZA
 MAN-ti ra-biš ú-ši-bu]
 37. [. . .] ^gERÍN.ĤĪ.A^t KUR aš+šur KI [ad-ki-ma]
 38. [a-na sa-paĥ] KUR X lu a-lik]

COLUMN II-SIDE

1. MAN.MEŠ šá KUR ĥat-ti KUR a-ri-me šá uš-pe-lu(?)
 2. šá SILIM^d šam-ši KUR qid-ri KUR a-ri-b[i]
 3. ^lkuš-taš-pi URU ku-muĥ-a-[a]
 4. ^lra-qi-a-nu KUR ša-ANŠE.NITÁ-šú-a-[a]
 5. ^lmi-ni-^him-m[e] KUR sa-m[e-]ri-i-na-a-[a]
 6. ^ltu-ba-^hil URU šur-a-[a]
 7. ^lsi-bat-ba-^hil KUR gub-la-a-[a]
 8. ^lú-ri-ik KUR qu-ú-a-[a]
 9. ^lsu-lu-mal KUR mi-lid-a-[a]
 10. ^lú-as-sur-me KUR ^gtá-bal-a-[a]
 11. ^luš-^hti-ti KUR a-tú-na-a-[a]
 12. ^lur-bal-la-a KUR tú-^hna-na-a-[a]
 13. [I] tu-^hme KUR iš-tu-un-di-a-[a]
 14. ^lu-i-ri-mi KUR ĥu-šem-na-a-[a]
 15. ^lda-di-^hil KUR kaš^(š)-ka-a-[a]
 16. ^lpi!-si-ri-is URU gar-[g]a-miš-a-[a]
 17. ^lpa-na-am-mu [KUR sa-m]a-al-la-a-[a]
 18. ^ltar-^hla-ru KUR [gur]-gu-ma-a-[a]
 19. SAL za-bi-bi-e šar-ra[t] KUR a-ri-b[i]
 20. bíl-tú ma-da-tú ^gKŪ.BABBAR GUŠKIN AN.NA AN.BAR
 21. KUŠ.AM.SI ZÚ.AM.SI ta-kil-tú ar-ga-man-nu
 22. lu-bul-ti bir-me GADA ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ
 23. ANŠE na-qa-a-ti UGU-šú-nu ú-^gkin^g
 24. ù šá^h ^lir-an-zi KUR man-na-a-a
 25. ^ltal-ta-a KUR el-lip-^ga
 26. EN.URU.MEŠ šá KUR ZALAG KUR sin-gi-bu-[ta]-a
 27. šá KUR-e DÙ-šú-nu šá KUR AN. [KI]-te(?)
 28. ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ pa-re-e ANŠE ud-ra-t[ú]

34. [At that time As]hur and Enlil
35. [my fathers] who created [me] sent [me] to strike down the unsubmissive.
36. . . . In my first regnal year, in the sixth month after [I took my seat majestically on my royal throne],
37. . . . I mustered] the troops of Assur
38. [and set off to overthrow the country X.]

COLUMN II—SIDE

1. The kings of Hatti, the Arameans whom I supplanted,
2. of the setting sun, Qidri, Aribi.
3. Kushtashpi of Kummuh
4. Resin of Damascus
5. Menahem of Samaria
6. Tubail of Tyre
7. Sibatbail of Byblos
8. Urik of Que
9. Sulumal of Melid
10. Uassurme of Tabal
11. Ushhiti of Atuna
12. Urballa of Tuhan
13. Tuhame of Ishtundi
14. Uirimi of Hushemna
15. Dadi-il of Kaska
16. Pisisir of Carchemish
17. Panammu of Samal
18. Tarhulara of Gurgum
19. Zabibe, queen of Arabia
20. tribute and gifts, silver, gold, tin, iron,
21. elephant hide, ivory, blue purple and red purple garments,
22. trimmed linen garments, dromedaries,
23. she-camels, I imposed upon them.
24. As for Iranzi of Mannea,
25. Talta of Ellipi
26. the chieftains of Namri, of Singibutu,
27. of all of the mountains of the high country(?)
28. horses, mules, Bactrian camels

29. GUD.MEŠ $\check{s}e-e-ni$ UGU- $\check{s}\acute{u}-\check{h}u\bar{u}$ - $ma \acute{u}$ - [kin] (?)
 30. $\check{s}at-ti-\check{s}am-ma am-da-na-hg-ra ina \check{q}\acute{e}\bar{r}eb$ KUR $a\check{s}+\check{s}[ur]$
 31. $\acute{u}-\check{s}e-pi\check{s}-ma$ NA₄ NA.RÚ.A *ina* NIGIN(?) KUR [X]
 32. DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ- $y\acute{a}$ *ina muh-hi e-* [šir]
 33. NU MAN- $ti-ya$ *ina qir-bi-š\check{u} ab-ni-* [ma]
 34. $li-ta-at a\check{s}+\check{s}ur$ EN- $y\acute{a} \acute{u}$ ^{d(?)} [X]
 35. [X] KUR.KUR *it-bu š\acute{a}* *ina muh-hi* [. . .]
 36. [X] $mi-i\check{s}-ri \check{s}\acute{a} a-na$ [. . .]

Commentary

Column I

In general, for the epithets of the gods see K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* (Helsinki, 1938), and for those of Tiglath Pileser, see M. J. Seux, *Épithètes Royales Akkadiennes et Sumériennes* (Paris, 1967).

1.2—For the phrase *mukîn ušurtu*, cf. Streck, *Asb.* L⁶ 1. The phrase *bānû mithurti* does not occur in the divine epithets known from the royal inscriptions. However, it occurs in a broken context in *KAR* 304, 22. The reading of the *ú* is uncertain.

1.3—This line is badly mutilated, and hard to read. Following the *mu* sign there are traces which might be the end of the *kin* sign. However, this would squeeze the two signs closer than is usual in these lines. Perhaps the scribe realized this and erased the sign, then overcompensated and put the *kin* sign farther from the *mu* than necessary.

1.4—The phrase *nāši tuppī* etc. is applied to Nabû.

1.5—The phrase GÌR.GÌR.GÌR is unattested.

1.8—On the restoration, cf. Tallqvist, 136.

1.11—The MAT TAQ reading is doubtful.

1.13—The signs may read BA^U TU ^U.

1.18-20—The edge of the stele, where the signs for these lines would have been inscribed, is mutilated. It has been assumed that the edge was inscribed, and so it is included in the line count.

1.21—If our reconstruction is correct, then the writing of the name must have been compressed, as there is barely room for this number of signs. The following text, however, makes the reading almost imperative. Tiglath Pileser III always writes his name in this way in the royal inscriptions. See Brinkman, *An. Or.* 43, p. 240, n. 1544.

29. cattle, sheep, I imposed upon them (as tribute).
30. I received it yearly in Assur.
31. I made stelae in all(?) the lands.
32. The great gods, my lords, I engraved thereon.
33. I depicted a likeness of my majesty on it.
34. The strength of Ashur my lord and X
35. . . . the lands. Who over . . .
36. . . . the border, who to . . .

1.25—The phrase *rēmurašû* does not occur as a royal epithet in other inscriptions. It does, however, appear as part of a colophon on texts from the library of Ashurbanipal (cf. Seux, *Epithètes*, pp. 234-235). The line bears a striking graphic similarity to one of the epithets recorded in the annals. (Cf. Boissier, “Bas Reliefs de Tiglath Pileser III, *PSBA*, xviii [1896], p. 159, No. 3, 1.2. Compare, however, the photograph of this relief, in Barnett and Falkner, *STP*, p. 122, where the sign, although broken, is clearly MEN rather than the DAGAL shown by Boissier.) However, where the annals read DINGIR .NIN .MĒÑ .NĀ, our text has a clear ARĤUŠ sign.

1.28—The restoration [*šākin andurr*]ār KUR Aššur is conjectural. It is not otherwise attested as a neo-Assyrian epithet, but the act is well known in neo-Assyrian times.

1.33—The rest of the line following the šû sign appears to have been uninscribed.

1.36—The *e* sign is written half on one side of the shoulder crease and half on the other side. With this line begins the narrative of some event in Tiglath Pileser’s regnal year. It is interesting to quote at this point the eponym entry for this year, as there too the month is recorded. It reads, “On the 13th of Ayyar, Tiglath Pileser ascended the throne. [In] the month of Tišrit, he set out for *birīt nāri*.” Since Tišrit would be the seventh month, the events described on the stele presumably related to the preparations for and the campaign against *birīt nāri*. Apparently, no account of Tiglath Pileser’s ascent to the throne is included.

For the reconstruction of the end of the line, cf. Tadmor, *JCS*, xii (1958), pp. 26-28.

1.1-2—These lines seem to be a general summary introduction to the specific areas mentioned in the list of tributaries which follows in lines 3-19. As such, they provide us with the general geographic terms which the Assyrians used for the areas that were located in the west.

1.1—The end of line 1 is taken as a relative clause which is parenthetically intended to further define the Arameans. The use of the word *šupe'lu* here to mean “supplant” fits well with the general semantic range of this verb, and can be compared with *CH* XXVI, 75ff., where it is used of kingship.

1.2—The use of the term *šalam šamši* as a description of the Mediterranean is well known from the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III. As a designation for Aram it is apparently new, and would seem to be used to differentiate the land inhabited by the western Arameans from that inhabited by the Arameans of southern Mesopotamia.

Qidri has been previously attested only in the annals of Ashurbanipal.

1.3-19—The list of tributaries in these lines is similar to but not identical with lists from the annals of Tiglath Pileser III as well as from his Nimrud tablet, K. 3751. The closest correspondence is with the list of tributaries which occurs at the end of the account of the eighth *palû* in the annals. There are three sources for this list. The first and most complete is III R 9:3:50-54, the second Layard, *ICC*, 50a (=Rost, XV), 10-12 + *ICC* 50b+67a (=Rost, XVI), 1-2, and the third *ICC* 69b₂+69a₁ (=Rost, IV + V), 2-7. Of these three, the first is from a text which Tadmor considers to be composite (H. Tadmor, “Introductory Remarks to a New Edition of the Annals of Tiglath Pileser III,” *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities Proceedings* vol. II, No. 9 [Jerusalem, 1967], p. 177), but which must derive from now lost originals, as it is only in this text that the mention of Hiram of Tyre is preserved. The complex problem of the nature of III R, 9.3 is discussed by Tadmor in his forthcoming edition of the *Inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III*.

As has been noted, the annals list is almost identical with the one on the stele. The only differences (again disregarding matters of orthography) are the inclusion of Hamath in the annals and the substitution of the name of Tubail in the stele for that of Hiram (see below, 1.6). There are other, shorter lists scattered through the annals which mention some of the principals involved in our list. However, all are in broken contexts, and none are significant here.

The other list which is of some importance for the study of that on the stele occurs on K. 3751. This text, which dates from the end

of Tiglath Pileser's reign, includes not only territories under his control after his first series of campaigns to the west, but also those subdued in the course of his second set of campaigns in that area, campaigns undertaken toward the end of his reign. Thus the list is greatly expanded from the one included on the stele or in the annals, and mentions some eight places not previously included in the earlier list, although some of the names may originally have appeared in the broken parts of K. 3751.

The importance of these three lists, that in the Annals, that on the stele, and the one from K. 3751, lies in the fact that we are now able to view the Levant at three distinct points during the reign of Tiglath Pileser, once in 738, once in 737 or shortly thereafter, and once at the end of his reign. On the whole, these indicate a remarkable stability in the area, with only a single change in ruler indicated in this period by these three lists. Further changes not reflected in these lists are indicated by other texts (e.g. II Kings 15 ff.), but they do not substantially affect the picture of stability.

1.4—The writing of the name Resin as Raqianu has not been previously attested. In all other cases, it is written with *h*, for ^c. Thus our text provides the earliest example of the interchange of *q* and ^c in Aramaic. (Note *ANET*, p. 283, n.4a.)

1.6—Tubail was not previously known as a Tyrian royal name. While it is at first tempting to combine this name with the *ben tāb'al* of Is. 7:6, too many difficulties stand in the way of such an identification, and it seems better to take it as a form of Ethbaal, a name known to have been written in a similar form in the inscriptions of Sennacherib. For the progression Ba'al > Ba'il > Bi'il leading eventually to Bel, cf. Z. Harris, *The Development of the Canaanite Dialects* (New Haven, 1939), p. 61.

The occurrence of the name Tubail in our texts now makes it possible to draw a picture of the royal line at Tyre during the reign of Tiglath Pileser. At the beginning of his reign, the name of the ruling king was apparently Hiram. We learn of this from the text III R 9 mentioned above, as well as from a fragmentary inscription published by Wiseman in *Iraq*, XVIII (1956) 125, r.5'. Hiram was succeeded by Tubail in the year 737 as can be inferred from the stele. Sometime between 737 and the end of Tiglath Pileser's reign, Tubail was in turn succeeded by Metenna, who was made to pay tribute to an Assyrian official according to the text K. 3751. In the period following Tiglath Pileser III, the sources are once again silent about Tyre. The city is mentioned once in the reign of Sargon, but the regent is unknown. It is not until the time of Sennacherib that the names of the Tyrian kings become known to us once again.

1.7—Sibatbail appears as Sibittibi'il in the list in the annals and in K. 3751.

1.23—The writing *naqāte* for the usual *anaqāte* is attested only here. On this term, cf. Salonen, *Hippologica*, p. 89.

1.24-26—Here begins a new matter, the account of the events of the campaign of 737 B.C. These events, which are found in two recensions in the annals of Tiglath Pileser, are given in summary form here, but for the first time, the names of two of the rulers are given. Thus, we know that Iranzu was ruling in Mannea and Talta in Ellipi. Both of these rulers are known to us from the annals of Sargon II, where they appear as still loyal to Assyria. It would thus appear that Tiglath Pileser's efforts to convince these two rulers of the benefits of Assyrian suzerainty were completely successful (cf. the discussion in the introduction, p. 7). For the location of Mannea, Ellipi, Namri, see my *HGZ*.

1.26—The chieftains of Namri and Singibutu do not refer to Talta and Iranzu, as neither of the places ruled by these men would be characterized as being part of Namri or Singibutu. The phrase must therefore be taken as paratactical. Singibutu is a place often mentioned in the texts of Tiglath Pileser III and Sargon II and in the Harper letters. However, the references do not help to locate the place geographically. The usual writing of the name is Sangibutu, with an initial *a* vowel, but *i* and *u* also occur.

1.27—For a phrase somewhat similar to this, cf. Rost, Tiglath Pileser III, p. 8, l. 33, and p. 64, l. 38ff.

1.31—The NIGIN sign is doubtful and the translation uncertain.

1.35-36—The syntax of these two lines, and their relationship to the preceding lines is unclear to me. The *miṣri* of line 36 is probably not to be connected with Egypt.

The Stele of Sargon II

The stele of Sargon II was discovered by the author and T. Cuyler Young, Jr. on October 22, 1965. At the time, we were conducting a preliminary season of excavations at Godin Tepe, a site at the eastern end of the Kangavar valley in western Iran.¹⁶ During the course of these excavations, some of the local workmen informed us of the existence of the stele in Najafehabad, a village in the neighbouring Assadabad valley some 15 kilometres to the northeast of Kangavar.

Najafehabad is built on the south slope of a mound, and the villagers have dug long, tunnel-like rooms from their houses into the mound itself. These rooms are used as stables for sheep, goats and cattle during the winter months. The stele itself was discovered outside one of the houses which is situated on the southeast slope near the base of the mound. It was lying on its back and was buried with only its obverse side showing. Inquiries revealed that it was discovered by one of the villagers while excavating a foundation for an addition to his house. It was impossible to determine the date of this activity, but it appears that it was at least a year prior to the time that the stele became known to us. The villagers informed us that the monument had not been moved because of its size. No associated objects were found with the stele at the time of its original discovery, and it is unclear whether there were any architectural features with which it might have been connected. A thorough search of the mound yielded no pottery or other artifacts which might be construed as Iron Age, even though a great deal of the mound had been "excavated" by the local population while digging their tunnel barns. Thus we have felt it safe to assume that Najafehabad was not the original site of the stele, and that it may have been moved there at a later period from some other location in the area. The weight of the stele, some two tons, seems to preclude its having been moved very far, so that one of the other mounds in the area, perhaps Godin itself, was probably its original home. The period in which it was first moved is also undeterminable, but the Sassanian period during which there was extensive collecting of antiquities in Iran may be suggested as a possibility.¹⁷

After a preliminary set of photographs was taken in the field, the stele was transported by truck to the Muse Iran Bastan in Tehran, where it is now to be found. At the museum, a second set of photographs was taken, and a latex squeeze was made. It is from the photographs and the squeeze that the reading of the text was carried out, although certain passages were checked on the original after a preliminary reading.

Description of the stele

The monument has already been described briefly by Young in various articles and the text was published by the author in preliminary form in 1969.¹⁸ The stele is approximately 165 cm. high, 65 cm. wide and 70 cm. thick. It is thus more nearly square in section than the usual stele of this type. It is broken at the bottom, but the figure is virtually complete and the last line of the inscription is preserved. Thus, the original height was probably not significantly greater than that preserved, perhaps 30 cm. more or less.

The stele is carved on dark gray limestone with lighter veins running through it. The front is badly worn, and the lower part has been extensively damaged in recent times. In addition, there is a piece of the upper right side that appears to have been broken in antiquity. Both the right and left sides of the stele are also badly worn. In the case of the right side, this does not seem to be significant, as it appears never to have been inscribed in any way. The left side, however, once bore a text which is now virtually obliterated (see below).

This monument belongs to the same genre of royal monuments as the Tiglath Pileser stele published here.¹⁹ It is considerably larger than the former, but is still far from the largest exemplar of this group of monuments.²⁰

The figure of the king on this stele faces to his right, as is the case on the Tiglath Pileser stele. The facial features have been completely obliterated by wear, so that nothing can be said about them. However, other features of the head are sufficiently preserved to merit some comment. The king is shown wearing the high, conical cap that is usual for portrayals of royalty in neo-Assyrian art. The cap is more elaborate than the one worn by Tiglath Pileser, having three bands of applique, one at the top, one half way down and one at the bottom. Once again, the state of preservation does not allow us to elaborate, although by analogy with other such caps, we can assume that the bands were decorated with rosettes. It does seem that the bottom band broadened in the front of the cap, as would be expected. Coming down from under the cap through the hair of the king and resting over his left shoulder is a double ribbon. The end of the ribbon is worn away, so that it cannot be determined if it ended in a tassel or not. If one uses the Larnaka stele of Sargon as a model, we could assume the existence of these tassels.²¹

The hair of the king rests on his left shoulder. It is styled in the usual Assyrian manner, and ends in two rows of curls. The beard, which is badly eroded, can only be seen in rough outline, and is styled in the usual square cut.

The garment worn by the king is the elaborate fringed robe also

worn by Sargon II on his Larnaka stele. It is draped over the left shoulder, and is then apparently wrapped around the lower half of the torso. There is, in addition, a fringed strap that passes from the waist over the right shoulder and a rope (?) belt worn around the waist.

The king's left arm is bent at the elbow and held in front of the torso. He appears to be wearing a bracelet, although the condition of the stone makes this difficult to ascertain. In his hand he holds a sceptre or mace. The sceptre appears to be round on top, although once again certainty is impossible. The right arm is bent at the elbow and held before the face. The gesture that the king is making with his hand is not discernible. It appears that he is wearing a bracelet on this arm as well.

Three divine symbols appear in the space before the face of the king. In the upper left is the crescent of the god Sin. Beside that to the right is the horned crown. Beneath these is the winged sun disk. This small number of symbols is somewhat unusual, and more may have occupied the area to the left of the crescent of Sin or to the right of the king's head.

The usual practice of surrounding the entire stele with a border does not seem to have been followed here, although the stele is worn in such a way as to make it possible for a border to have existed originally.

The inscription begins on the lower portion of the front surface of the stele, at first flanking the figure of the king, and then running across the figure. Both damage and wear make it impossible to read the inscription on this front surface as a connected text, but traces of 29 lines remain. The inscription continues on the back side of the stele, where 75 lines are preserved. Each line runs across the back and then across the left side of the stele. However, aside from traces of signs near the bottom, the entire left side is worn smooth. Thus, there remains only the first half of each original line. The right side appears not to have carried any inscription.

The literary form of the stele

Although the entire front of the stele is virtually unreadable, and although it is not until line 10 of the reverse that any connected text can be made out, it is still possible to discern the literary form of the stele. It began with an invocation to the gods, which ran for the first 16 lines. At that point, the titulary of the king followed, as can be seen from the occurrence of the name Sargon on line 17. Just where the main body of the account began is no longer determinable, but it continued on to the back of the stele, and ran

through line 71. On line 72 begins the closing plea for the preservation of the stele and the curse formula applicable to those who deface it. This takes up the remainder of the text. Thus, the text follows the standard stele style in composition as well as in artistic convention.

It is, of course, on the narrative portion of the stele that our interest focuses. It is clear that this main account was arranged according to campaigns. Thus by line 4 on the reverse the account of the second campaign (according to the count of the Khorsabad annals, see below) is in progress; on line 13, the account of the events of the third campaign begins; on line 17, those of the fourth; and on line 20, those of the fifth. The main bulk of the text is devoted, however, to the account of the sixth campaign. This account began in the missing portion of line 23, and continued until line 70, a total of 47 lines, or better than 50 per cent of the original text.

The text

Before proceeding to a discussion of the account of the sixth campaign, a few remarks should be made about the main body of the text in general. First, it should be noted that this inscription differs from the usual arrangement of the material in stelae from the Sargonid period. While most of the pre-Sargon stelae arrange the sequence of events chronologically, those of Sargon and his successors are summary inscriptions using a rough geographical scheme. Thus, our text is unique in following the earlier tradition of arranging the material chronologically by campaign.

A second point that is of interest is that our text follows the Khorsabad recension in the numbers that it assigns to the campaigns, rather than the Ninevite or Assur recensions. This in turn bears upon the meaning of the term *palû* in the records of Sargon II, a subject thoroughly discussed by Tadmor.²² While it is beyond the scope of the present study to re-examine the question of *palû*, it should be noted that our text moves the date at which the scribes felt free to manipulate history and fill in events of the first two years of Sargon's reign to a time not very far removed from the events themselves. Thus, the system of numbering the *palûs* in the annals can be shown to be a tradition at least as old as the sixth campaign, which would make it older than the earliest dated prism source. This somewhat weakens Ford's argument that the dating in the annals is a late attempt to reconcile the discrepancy between the prisms and sources such as the Assur Charter,²³ but does not put us any closer to a solution of the problem of the meaning of *palû* than Tadmor's efforts.

The account of the sixth campaign, which occupies the major portion of the stele; is the most important part of this text. It not only supplies a great deal of new historical information, but also raises some weighty historiographic problems. The first part of the account of the sixth campaign on the stele roughly parallels the account in the annals. Thus lines 23-26 set the stage for the campaign against Mannea (Annals 78-81), lines 26-33 describe the battle against the Manneans and the fate of Karalla (Annals 81-90), lines 33-35 tell of the capture of Shurgadia (Annals 91-93), lines 36-41 deal with Kishesim (Annals 93-96), and lines 41-46 describe the troubles in Harhar (Annals 96-100). While the general order of the events in the two accounts is the same, they share little common phraseology, and the stele account seems to add information to the account in the annals. It should also be noted that the stele account is cast in the phraseology of a campaign, in the older tradition of Assurnasirpal II and Shalmaneser III, while the annals account is cast as a narrative.

It is with line 46 of the stele that the major departure occurs from the account as we have it in the annals. From line 46 to the end of the narrative of the campaign, some 24 lines, we have a detailed description of a march through Median territory. This entire section in the stele is summarized by a single line in the annals account of the sixth campaign (line 100), and even that line hardly indicates the size of the undertaking.

The extreme compression of the account of this part of the campaign in the annals once again raises the serious historiographic question of the validity of the late copies of the annals for the reconstruction of the historical events which they describe. This problem, which was discussed by Olmstead in his work *Assyrian Historiography*,²⁴ needs to be re-examined in the light of the new material available to the Assyriologist and ancient historian. What should be noted here is that the use of the annals when no other source is at hand against which the narrative can be checked is at best a risky proposition, and can lead to misunderstandings of the actual course of events.²⁵

Reconstruction of the route of march for the sixth campaign is still difficult. The present suggestion is based in part upon the locations of ancient places as reconstructed in my *Contributions to the Historical Geography of the Zagros*.²⁶

It should be noted, to begin with, that few of the places mentioned in the stele can be fixed with any precision. The following assumptions, however, seem safe. First, the campaign began in Assyria, and ended somewhere in the vicinity of the find spot of the stele. Second, since the stele was found along the Great Khorasan

Road, the most important natural route in the Zagros, Sargon probably used this route for part of the campaign.

The proposal that the Great Khorasan Road was used as part of the route is further strengthened if the location of Harhar in the Mahi Dasht is accepted. This would mean that from Harhar, Sargon turned east and followed the Bisitun, Sahneh, Kangavar valley system. The relative obscurity of the places mentioned in the second half of the campaign would fit well with this assumption, as this area was, for the most part, *terra incognita* to the Assyrians. The corollary of this obscurity is the virtual hopelessness at present of any precision in locating the places mentioned in the second half of the campaign. At best, we can say that they lay roughly in a progression from west to east, and that the last mentioned are probably to be located in the eastern end of the Kangavar valley or in the Assadabad valley. It is highly unlikely that any refer to places beyond the Kuh-i-Alvand.

While the second half of the march is masked in obscurity, the first half is through relatively familiar territory. Many of the places mentioned are known from other texts, and these references help inform our picture of the geography and of the route of the campaign under consideration. Nevertheless, the best we can hope for is a general understanding of the direction of the march, and perhaps the localization of certain principalities in general geographic areas. At all times we shall try to keep the real geography of the area in mind, and limit our proposals to what seems topographically feasible. Nowhere will specific proposals linking a given site with an ancient place name be made. The state of our understanding is too primitive to make such identifications anything more than guesses.

The initial encounter recorded in the sixth campaign is with the Mannean city of Izirtu. Mannea, in the time of Sargon, is the name applied to the extensive territory east of the *chaîne magistrale* stretching from the southern shores of Lake Urmia in the north to Lake Zeribor in the south.²⁷ Its eastern border is undeterminable at present. Izirtu, a royal city of Mannea, although often mentioned in the texts, is difficult to locate, but we shall return to this problem below. It should be noted, however, that the route used by Sargon to penetrate the Zagros will have some bearing on this question.

In trying to determine the route used from Assyria into the Zagros, it is necessary to locate the area encountered after Izirtu, the area called Karalla. There are two important pieces of information bearing on the location of Karalla. First, both the present text (1.32) and other Sargon inscriptions²⁸ indicate that Karalla was turned over to the province of Lullume. Lullume is never mentioned in the eponym lists as the name of a province and only rarely

in other texts. It is, however, identified in the inscriptions of Sargon with Zamua,²⁹ which is the area of the modern Shahrizur, south of Sulaimaniya.³⁰ Thus, Karalla must have been adjacent to Lullume, and so it must be located in the mountains to the east of Shahrizur. Since effective communication between Shahrizur and the area to the east can only be gained via the passes behind Sulaimaniya, a location of Karalla in or near the Lower Zab headwaters would seem logical. This general location of Karalla as an area east of Zamua, combined with the geography of the Zagros, would point to a more specific location in the Lake Zeribor basin.³¹ Such a location is reinforced by the reference to Karalla in Sargon's eighth campaign, which locates it on the borders of Surikash, a district of Mannea.³²

Having suggested a location for Karalla, we can now return to the related questions of the route used to penetrate the Zagros and the location of Izirtu. There are two basic routes which cross the *chaîne magistrale* into Mannea. One is far to the north, leading via the Rowanduz gorge to the town of Rowanduz, and branching off from there in a number of directions. This, however, would have placed the Assyrians far to the north, and beyond reasonable striking distance of Lake Zeribor. The second basic route uses the drainage of the Lower Zab, and crosses the *chaîne magistrale* at a number of points. The southernmost of these passes leads directly to Lake Zeribor, and would leave no room for Izirtu. The northernmost leads into the Sardasht region, and would make the passage to Zeribor long and extremely difficult. Thus, by elimination, the middle pass, that leading to the vicinity of Baneh, would seem the most likely candidate in this case. If we try to fix Izirtu's position, then, a location in or near Baneh seems plausible. This would place Izirtu within range of Zeribor, albeit over some rugged mountain country.

From Karalla, Sargon proceeded to Shurgadia. Shurgadia's location is wholly dependent upon the location of Parsua, since the former is absorbed by the latter,³³ and the location of Parsua is one of the most difficult of the problems in Zagros geography. I have argued elsewhere that we must locate Parsua in the mountains to the southeast of Shahrizur or in the northern Mahi-dasht.³⁴ Thus Shurgadia is to be located in the same general vicinity, and is south of Karalla.

The next two places encountered in the course of the sixth campaign are Kishesim and Bit Sagabi. The former is often mentioned, but aside from the annals, which parallel the stele account and give no further geographic information, there is no good indication of its location, and to use the annals would be to argue in a circle.

Bit Sagabi, on the other hand, confronts us with an additional problem. Not only is locating it difficult, but we must also assume that the name here is but a variant of the Sagbat or Bit Sagbat known from other texts dating to the reigns of Shamsi Adad V and Tiglath Pileser III, as well as Sargon. This assumption seems well founded, however, for Bit Sagabi and Bit Sagbat appear in parallel passages in the annals account of the sixth campaign and in the text under discussion.

Granting the identification of Bit Sagabi with Bit Sagbat, the clues for locating this place are as follows. First, it is Median.³⁵ This would indicate an area south of Mannea, and in the vicinity of the Great Khorasan Road.³⁶ Second, it is near Kishesim (which is not much help) since it is incorporated into that province; and third, it is probably not far removed from Parsua, since tribute is brought there by a representative of Bit Sagbat during Sargon's eighth campaign.³⁷ Its proximity to Parsua would also agree with the location in Media. Finally, it is one stop from Harhar, and Harhar is probably to be located in the eastern Mahi-dasht. All this would point, then, to an area somewhere in the vicinity of the Mahi-dasht and the Great Khorasan Road.

A difficulty arises with this location for Bit Sagbat when we take into account the notice in Sargon's Display Inscription³⁸ that Sagbat is on the border of Elam. To accommodate this piece of information one must assume that Elam stretched much farther north than is usually thought, or that Ellipi, the principality in Luristan between Harhar and Elam,³⁹ had fallen to Elam by the time the Display Inscription was written, or that our entire scheme is wrong, a possibility whose likelihood seems remote at the present time, but always exists in the expansive game of geographical chess. For the purposes of this reconstruction, we will assume one of the first two solutions, and leave Sagbat in or around the Mahi-dasht.

It is possible, then, to summarize the route of the sixth campaign as follows. Starting from Assyria, Sargon crossed into Iran, north of Lake Zeribor, perhaps in the vicinity of Baneh. He then marched south, through the Zeribor area and, perhaps using the route along the eastern face of the *chaîne magistrale*, into the Mahi-dasht. From the Mahi-dasht, he proceeded east through Harhar and along the valleys which make up the Great Khorasan Road. Eventually, he came to the most important barrier along this road, the Kuh-i-Alvand, and made no attempt, or at least left no record of an attempt, to cross this barrier and penetrate the inner Zagros surrounding the Great Desert of central Iran.

One further problem worth raising is the name of the city in which the stele was originally erected. The annals' account of Sar-

gon's sixth campaign records the erection of stelae in both Kishesim and Harhar.⁴⁰ In the case of our stele, however, it would appear that it was set up in the last city named on the stele, Urata/us. Unfortunately, the portion relating the erection of the stele is badly broken, and a definitive answer to the question of the name of the city where the stele was erected remains uncertain.

The date of the stele

No date is preserved on the stele, and it is therefore by context that the time of its composition must be determined. There is, nonetheless, little doubt. The last recorded events on the stele are those of the sixth campaign, according to the Khorsabad reckoning. This provides us with a *terminus post quem*. Since the sixth *palû* is recorded in such detail, and the seventh *palû* is omitted, it would appear that a date between the close of the sixth *palû* and the events of the seventh is the point at which the stele was composed and erected. Thus, a date of 716 B.C. seems certain.

COLUMN I – OBVERSE

- 1–17. Traces
 18. [. . .] ^IMAN.GI.[NA . . .]
 19. [. . .] ^IMAN.GI.NA GAR [. . .]
 20. [. . . *ba-'*] *it* AN.ŠÁR *ni-šit* X X DINGIR X X DINGIR
 [. . .]
 21. [. . .] MAN KUR *aš+šur* [. . .]
 22. Traces
 23. [. . .] MA *zi-kir* [. . .]
 24–26 Traces
 27. [. . .] *tup-šik*–[*ki* . . .]
 28–34 Traces

COLUMN II – REVERSE

1. [. . .]
 2. [. . .] LU [. . .] LÍL [. . .]
 3. [. . .] SA [. . .] HI X KI [. . .]
 4. [. . .] ^I*ya-ú-bi-'i-di* LÚ KUR *ha-am-ma-ta-a-a* [. . .]
 5. [. . .] Ú [. . .]
 6. [. . .] NU AN [. . . *ú*] *-pa-[hi]r-ma ma-mit* DINGIR. [MEŠ
 GAL.] MEŠ [. . .]
 7. DI X Ú [. . .] A MU [. . .] *it-ta-kil* [. . .]
 8. [. . .] *gi-ip* [. . .] *it-ba-a* LÚ *pit-hal-lu* ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ
 [. . .]
 9. [. . .] *a-du* [. . .] BA[L. . .] IŠ [. . .] A [. . .]
 10. [. . .] URU [. . . *ina*] GIŠ *a-ši-bi* [*da*]*n-ni* BÀD.[MEŠ
dan-nu-]*ti ú-pa-r*[*i-ir-ma* . . .]
 11. [. . .] AN NU [. . .] LÚ *m[un]-dah-ši-šú a-na* URU–*ya*
 [*aš*]+*šur* KI [. . .]
 12. [. . .] *šu-ut* LÚ.SA[G].MEŠ–*ya a-na* LÚ.EN.NAM–*ú-ti*
 UGU–*šú-nu aš-kun* KUR *ha-am-ma-ta* [. . .]
 13. [. . .] KU X *ina* III BAL–*ya* URU *šu-un-da-hu-ul* URU
du-ur-du-[*uk*]–*ka* URU.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti*
 É [BÀD.MEŠ– *ni* . . .]
 14. [. . .] RI X DU(?) Ú TU *ša* ^I*ir-an-zi* KU[R *man-n*] *a-a-a*
 LÚ EN–*šú-nu il-qu-u še-ṭu-us-su a-*[. . .]

COLUMN II—REVERSE

1. . . .
2. . . .
3. . . .
4. . . . Yaubi'di of Hamath . . .
5. . . .
6. . . . he gathered. The oaths of the [great go] ds . . .
7. . . . he trusted . . .
8. . . . he rose. Cavalry, horses . . .
9. . . .
10. . . . I shatte[red] the [mi]ghty walls with [b]ig battering
rams . . .
11. . . . his warriors to my city [As]sur
12. . . . I installed my offic[ial] as governor over them. Hamath, . . .
13. . . . In my third regnal year, the city of Shundahul and the city
of Durdu[k]ka, wa[lled] fortresses . . .
14. . . . of Iranzi of Mannea, their chief, whom they disregarded . . .

15. [. . . u] m-ma-na-at AN.ŠÁR a[d-ke-e]-ma a-na ka-šad
URU.MEŠ šu-a-tu-nu a-na KUR man-na-a-a a-lik
di-ik- ta-šú áš-[kun . . .]
16. [. . .] TÚ X Ú PI [X] MA [. . .]-šú-nu [X] HJ [X] LA X ki-i
NA₄ AN-e ú-ša-za-nin UKÚ.MEŠ a-di
mar-ši-[ti-šu-nu . . .]
17. ina 4 BAL-ya a-na KUR ta-ba-li a-lik URU ši-nu-uh-tú
URU dan-nu-ti-šú šá^I ki-ak-ki KUR tú-šá-a-a É di[. . .]
18. [K]UŠ.AM.SI ZÚ.AM.SI GIŠ.ESIG GIŠ.KU lu-bul-ti bir-me
TÚG.GADA GIŠ til-li ú-nu-ut ta-ḥa-zi e-ki!-im-šú-nu[. . .]
19. še-ni-šú-nu su-gúl-lat ANŠE.KUR. [MEŠ] ANŠE.MEŠ a-na
la ma-ni áš-lu-la ma-da-at-tu ša MAN.MEŠ-ni ša KUR
ta-bal [. . .]
20. ina 5 BAL-ya URU kar-ga-[miš] ša GÚ ÍD pu-rat-ti
ak-šu-ud^I pi-si-i-ri MAN-šú a-di^I šem-tar-ru-ú[. . .]
21. it-ti NÍG.GA É.GAL-šú DAM-[šu . . .]-ti-šú áš-lu-lam-ma
a-na URU-ya aš+šur KI ub-la UKÙ.MEŠ URU kar-[ga-miš . . .]
22. [. . .] KUR aš+šur KI e-mid-su-nu [GUŠ]KIN KÙ.BABBAR
ša URU kar!-ga-miš ŠU-ti ik-šu-du a-na AN.ŠÁR
d_U+GUR ù^d[. . .]
23. šib-sa-at AN.ŠÁR šá sa-paḥ KUR man-na-[a-a] ù
ḥul-lu-uq UKÙ.MEŠ [. . .] UGU-šú ib-ši-ma-a^I ru-sa-a
URU [. . .]
24. it-ti AD X ŠÁ X Ú MA KAL GIŠ X šá-kín ni-ir AN.ŠÁR
is-li-ma [. . .] SA KI IL X ma-da-ta-šú X tu [. . .]
25. [X]-te-qu-ni-is-su kab-tu la [X X] ma [X X] in-na-bit
[. . .] ma-ti šu-a-ti U BAL UD X X TU
26. [. . .] us-ma GIŠ (?) [. . .] nu-ti um-ma-na-at AN.[ŠÁR]
gáp -šá-a-ti ad-ke-e-ma a-na KUR man-na-a-a
a-[lik . . .]
27. [. . .] DA KA MA [. . .] ME [X] a-di 2 KASKAL.GÍD u₄-me
[. . .] LU e-X-ga-šú ki-ma kar-pat pa-ḥa-ri
ú-[ḥe-ep-pi . . .]
28. [ina] qa-ti ú-šab-bit UKÙ.MEŠ-šú a-di [mar]-ši-ti-šú-nu
ina IGI X ŠA X MA mi-nu-ut še-e-ni am-nu URU i-zi-ir-tu
URU dan-[nu-ti-šú . . .]

15. . . . the troops of Ashur I mu[stered] and I set out to Mannea to conquer those cities. I defeated him . . .
16. . . . like hailstones I rained down. The people, with [their] possessio[ns . . .
17. In my fourth regnal year, I set out to Tabal. Shinuhtu, the fortress of Kiakki of Tusha . . .
18. elephant hide, ivory, ebony, boxwood, garments with trim, linen garments, weapons, battle gear, I took from them.
19. Their small cattle, herds of horses, donkeys without number I took as booty. The tribute of the kings of Tabal (?) . . .
20. In my fifth regnal year, I captured the city of Carche[mish] on the bank of the Euphrates. Pisiri, its king, together with Shem-taru . . .
21. together with the property of his palace, [his] wife . . . I carried off as spoil to my city Assur. The people of Carche[mish . . .]
22. like Assur I imposed upon them. The [go]ld and silver of Car-chemish which I had captured, to Ashur, Nergal, . . .
23. The anger of Ashur was upon him to scatter Mannea and destroy the people [. . .] Rusa, the . . .
24. . . . threw off the yoke of Ashur [. . .] his tribute . . .
25. . . . he fled [. . .] that land . . .
26. . . . I mustered the great host of Ash[ur]. I set [off] for Mannea . . .
27. . . . for two double hours, the day [. . .] like the clay vessel of a potter I sma[shed . . .]
28. I seized. His people with their [pos]sessions [. . .] like a number of sheep I counted. Izirtu, his fort[ress. . .]

29. [. . .] MA TE X BI TUR [. . .] URU *i-zi-ir-tú e* [. . .]
^I*ma-X- ú-rad X UR DU DA MA ú-na-šá-q*[u GÌR^{II}-ya . . .]
30. [*a-na*] *šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-ti-[šú GÌR]*^{II}.MEŠ-*ya iṣ-bat*
 ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ GUD.MEŠ *še-e-ni ma-da-ta-šú am-ḥur*[. . .]
31. [. . .] ^I*aš+šur-ZU URU kar-al-la-a a-duk ma-ti DAGAL-ti*
šá-a-šú ga-di LÚ.ERÍN.MEŠ-šú ina qé-reb ūs-ma-ni-ya
ad-di-šú-nu pí-ri-iš-tú [. . .]
32. [. . .]-*iḥ-ma a-na URU-ya KUR aš+šur ú-bil URU*
kar-al-la a-di KUR na-gi-šú UGU pi-[ḥ]a-at URU
lu-lu-[m]e ú-rad-di [. . .]
33. [. . .] *ú-šá-dir ú-šar-bi il-ku tup-šik-ku UGU šá maḥ-ri*
e-mid-su TA URU pat-ta at-tu-muš a-na U[RU]ni-iq(?)—qar
[aq-tí-rib . . .]
34. [. . .] ^I*na-aḥ-ri šá URU šur-ga-di-a* [URU].MEŠ-*ni*
dan-[nu]-ti KUR qu-ti-i la-ba(?)—riš(?) šip-ri šá
u₄-me-šam-ma a-ṣi-it UKÙ [. . .]
35. [. . .]-*šú-nu a-di mar-ši-ti-šú-nu AN[ŠE].MEŠ-šú-nu*
 GUD. [MEŠ-šú]-*nu še-ni-šú-nu áš-lu-la* ^IGÌR^{II}.MAN-*u*
 UGU KU LI LÚ.EN.UR[U.MEŠ . . .]
36. [*a-*]na URU *ḥu-un-dir aq-tí-rib* ^IEN.MAN-*ú-šur URU*
ki-še-sa-a da-ba-ab la kit-ti id-bu-ub a-na
 LÚ.EN.URU.MEŠ-*ni šá li-[me-ti-šú . . .]*
37. [*ma-da-*]ta-šú ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ GUD.MEŠ *še-e-ni a-na URU*
ḥu-un-dir a-di maḥ-ri-ya il-qa-a ina qé-reb
uš-ma-ni-ya am-[ḥur . . .]
38. *šal-la-ti am-nu ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ LAL-at ni-i-ri NÍG.ŠÚ*
 NÍ[G].GA GUŠKIN KÙ.BABBAR *lu-bul-ti bir-me TÚG.GADA*
 GIŠ *til-li a-nu-ut ta-ḥa-zi* [*am-ḥur . . .]*
39. [. . .] ^d*iš-tar EN.MEŠ-ya a-li-kut pa-ni-ya ú*[. . .] *ina*
qér-bi-šú ú-šar-me UKÙ.MEŠ URU ki-še-si-im KUR na-gi
NA a-bur-[riš ú-še-šib . . .]
40. [. . .]*šu)-ut SAG-ya a-na LÚ.EN.NAM-ú-ti UGU-[šú-nu]*
áš-kun KUR É šá-ga-bi šá qé-reb dan-ni-ti šá LÚ [. . .]
41. [. . .] *tup-ši-ku za-bal ku-du-ri ša AN.ŠÁR* [EN]-*ya*
e-mid-su-nu ina u₄-me-šú-ma URU ḥar-ḥa-ar-a-a
kan-šu-tu AN.ŠÁR za-bil tup-ši-ki [. . .]

29. [. . .] Izirtu [. . .] he kiss[ed my feet . . .
30. [to] save [his] life he grasped my [feet]. Horses, cattle and small cattle, his tribute, I received . . .
31. I defeated Assur-le'u of Karalla. That widespread land, with its troops I cast down in my camp. . . .
32. . . . to my city Assur I carried. Karalla together with its district I added to the province of Lulume. . . .
33. . . . I greatly increased. Feudal dues and corvée, more than before, I imposed on him. From Patta I departed and [entered] Niqqar. . . .
34. . . . Nahri of Shurgadia, the fortresses of the Quti [. . .] who daily the expeditionary force of the people . . .
35. their [. . .] together with their possessions, their donkeys, their cattle and their small cattle I took as booty. Shepa-sharru, above [. . .] the city chiefs . . .
36. I entered Hundir. Bel-shar-uşur of Kishesa spoke untruths to the city chiefs surr[ounding him . . .]
37. his [trib]ute—horses, cattle, small cattle he brought to me at Hundir. I recei[ved] it in my camp . . .
38. I counted as tribute. Horses paired to the yoke, goods, property, gold, silver, garments with trim, linen garments, weapons, battle gear [I received . . .
39. . . . Ishtar, my lords who go before me [. . .] in its midst I set up. The people of Kishesim, a district [. . . I settled] in peace . . .
40. I installed my official as governor over them. Bit Sagabi, which in the fortress of [. . .
41. [of] corvée and the carrying out of the duties of Ashur my [lord] I imposed upon them. At that time, the Harharites, submissive to Ashur, performers of corvée [. . .

42. [. . .] LÚ.EN.URU-šú-nu e-ba-ku-ma ANŠE.KUR.ME[Š]
er-bet MU.AN.NA ma-da-ta-šú-nu ik-lu-ú BAD-šú-nu
ú-dan-ni-nu-ma e-l[i(?) . . .]
43. [. . .] U4-me la šá-qe-e IGI.IG[1]-šú-un am-ḥa-aš
di-ik-ta-šú-nu ma-at-tu a-duk LU mun-daḥ-ṣi-šú-nu
a-na tim-me ú-še-l[i . . .]
44. [. . .] ú-šak-lil É.KUR.MEŠ-su! e-pu-u[š] DINGIR.MEŠ-šú
a-na áš-ri-šú-nu ú-ti-ir šá AN.ŠÁR ^dXXX ^dUTU ^dIM
^diš-tar ^d[. . .]
45. [X] KUR[X] MEŠ a-na la mi-ni X-X-su-ti-šú at-bu-uk
ÍD-tu e-lit-tu šá KUR a-ra-zi-šú ÍD-tu šap-lit-tu šá
É ^Ira-ma-ti-ya [. . .]
46. [. . .]-šu-ri ú-šá-za-bil-šú-nu TA URU ḥar-ḥar
at-tu-muš ÍD A MEŠ KA NIN TI e-te-bir a-na URU
zak-ru-ti aq-[ṭí-rib . . .]
47. [T]A URU zak-ru-ti at-tu-muš a-na URU ku-ur-ab-li
aq-[ṭ]í-rib ma-da-at-tú ša ^Ida-i-ku ša URU
šá-pár-da-a-a šá ^Iuš-[. . .]
48. [. . .] KUR [X] kul-lu KUR bi-gal-i KUR si-ik-ri-is
KUR É ú-ar-gi KUR na-gi-e ru-qu-ú-te šá
MAN.MEŠ-ni a-li-ku-ti pa-ni-[ya la i-mu-ru am-ḥur . . .]
49. [. . .] ik-kír-šu-nu-ti-ma URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu
ú-maš-še-ru UKÙ.MEŠ-šú-nu mar-ši-su-nu
ú-paḥ-ḥi-ru-ma KUR ab-ra-ú[. . .]
50. [. . .] ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qit-ma
si-ta-te-šú-nu UKÙ.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ ANŠE.KUNGI.MEŠ
GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ ANŠE.MEŠ áš-lu-la[. . .]
51. [. . .] [a]b-bul aq-qur ina IZI GIBÍL TA KUR si-ik-ri-is
at-tu-muš a-na KUR a-ru-us-sa aq-ṭí-rib na-gu-ú
šá-a-šú a-[di . . .]
52. [. . .] X X ÍD pa-at-tu-us ÍD-ta e-t[e]-bir a-na KUR
ú-ku-ta aq-ṭí-rib UKÙ.MEŠ KUR na-gi-i-šu-[a-ti . . .]
53. ki-ma di-pa-ri a [X] du-ma ŠE e-bur-šú-nu a-na
mu-u'-di-e um-ma-na-ti-ya ú-šá-a-kil LÚ qu-ra-di-ya
a-na šá-[. . .]

42. their city chiefs they drove off. Horses, their tribute, they held back for four years. They strengthened their walls, and against. . .
43. . . . I defeated them. I brought about their great defeat. Their warriors I impaled on stakes. . . .
44. I completed. His temples I built and I returned his gods to their places. Of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Ishtar, . . .
45. . . . without number [. . .] I poured out. The upper river of Arazishu, the lower river of Bit Ramatiya . . .
46. . . . I caused them to carry off. From Harhar I departed. The river . . . I crossed. I en[tered] Zakruti . . .
47. I departed Zakruti and entered Kurabli. The tribute of Daiku of Shaparda, of Ush [. . .
48. . . . [x]kullu, Bigali, Sikris, Bit Uargi, far-off districts which the kings who preceded [me had not seen, I received (tribute) . . .
49. . . . He became hostile to them. They deserted their cities. Their people and possessions they gathered. Mt. Abrau . . .
50. I struck down with the sword. Their remainder, people, horses, mules, cattle, sheep, donkeys, I carried off as spoil. . . .
51. [I] destroyed, I tore down, I burned. From Sikris I departed and entered Arussa. This district, together [with . . .]
52. . . . The Pattus river I crossed, and I entered Ukuta. The people of that district . . .
53. like a torch [. . .] I fed my troops to suffice with their harvest. My warriors to . . .

54. *iš-lu-lu-ni TA KUR ú-ku-ta at-tu-muš KUR a-ru-sa-ka*
KUR-ú dan-nu pi-is-nu-uk-kiš at-ta-ab-bal- <kat> ina
KUR an-za-ak-[ni-e aq-ṭí-rib . . .]
55. [. . .] *KA PIŠ ú-šá-ša-ri-ih¹ ka-ra-ak-ka KUR*
ú-ri-ya(?) - ka a-a-bi KUR X X ak-mu X URU.MEŠ ŠÁ
KUR an-za-[ak-ni-e . . .]
56. *TA KUR an-za-ak-ni-e at-tu-muš ina ni-ri-bi ŠÁ KUR*
ú-pur-ya ina bi-[r]it KUR pa-at-ta-áš-šu-un KUR
da-ru-ú-e [KUR].MEŠ-e ŠÁ-qu-ti e-[ru-ub . . .]
57. [. . .] *ERIM.MEŠ GIŠ.BAN a-na hu-bu-ut EDIN a-na*
URU.MEŠ-ni ŠÁ URU bu-us-tu-us ši-li-pu ú-ma-i-ir LÚ
ša-ab EDIN X NU [. . .] ŠU X MA Ú [. . .] MEŠ
[. . . ¹sa-tar-ba-nu]
58. *ša KUR ú-pur-ya ŠÁ¹ ma-áš-ták-ka ŠÁ KUR a-ra-ti-iš-ta*
am-ḥur¹ ra-zi-iš-tu ŠÁ KUR bu-us-tu-us¹ uš-ra-a ŠÁ
KUR ka-an-[za-b]a-[ka-ni . . .] KUR ú-pur-[ya . . .]
59. [I] *ra-zi-da-tu LÚ.EN.URU ŠÁ URU bu-us-tu-us*
da-ba-ab la kit-ti id-bu-ub-ma KUR-su u-máš-še-er-ma
ru-ú-qiš [. . .] É X MEŠ X GÍR X [. . .]
60. [a]-na *KUR da-tu-um-bu aq-ṭí-rib ma-da-at-tu*
ŠÁ¹ uš-ra-a ŠÁ URU ka-za-ba-ka-ni ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ
am-ḥur [T] A KUR da-tu-um-bu at-tu-[muš] a-na URU
kar-zi-nu aq-ṭi-[rib ma-da-at-tu ša¹ X . . .]
61. *ANŠE.KUR.MEŠ am-ḥur TA URU kar-zi-nu at-tu-muš*
a-na KUR bir-na-ka-an aq-ṭí-rib ŠÁ¹ sa-tar-ba-nu ŠÁ
URU ba!-ri-ka-nu ŠÁ¹ up-pa-[. . .] KU X TI [. . .]
62. [a] *t-tu-muš a-na KUR sa-ka-a aq-ṭí-rib ma-da-at-tu*
ŠÁ¹ za-ar-du-ka-a ŠÁ URU ḥa-ar-zi-a-ni
ŠÁ¹ iš-te-su-uk-k[a ŠÁ URU] ka-ya-[. . . am-ḥur . . .
TA KUR sa-ka-a]
63. *at-tu-muš ÍD da-ru-e ÍD-tu e-te-bir a-na KUR*
ra-ma-an-da aq-ṭí-rib¹ ši-ta-X-X LÚ.EN.URU ŠÁ
UR[U X . . .]
64. *TA KUR ra-ma-an-da at-tu-muš a-na KUR ir-ni-sa*
aq-ṭí-rib ma-da-at-tu ŠÁ¹ ši-dir-pa-šu-ra-a ŠÁ KUR
ir-ni-sa ŠÁ¹ ba-a[t-X-] t[i]-gur ŠÁ URU kab-si¹

54. which they carried off for me as tribute. From Ukuta I departed. Arusaka, a mighty mountain, I crossed . . . [I entered] Anzak[nie. . .]
55. . . he uttered cries of mourning. Karakka of Uriyaka, the enemy of [. . .] The cities of Anza[knie . . .]
56. From Anzaknie I departed. I [entered] the passes of Upurya, between Mt. Pattashshun and Mt. Darue, lofty [mountains. . .]
57. . . archers to raid the plain, against the cities of Bustus I sent . . . Troops . . . [Satarbanu]
58. of Upurya; of Mashtakka of Aratishta I received. Razishtu of Bustus, Ushra of Kan[zabakani . . .] Upur[ya . . .]
59. Razidatu, the city chief of Bustus, spoke untruths. He left his country and afar . . .
60. I entered Datumbu. The tribute of Ushra of Kazabakani, horses, I received. I depar[ted] Datumbu [and en]tered Karzinu. [The tribute of . . .]
61. horses I received. I departed Karzinu and entered Birnakan. Of Satarbanu of Barikanu; of Uppa . . .
62. [I] departed. I entered Saka. The tribute of Zarduka of Harziani; of Ishtesuk[ka of] Kaya [. . .] I received. From Saka]
63. I departed. I crossed the Darue river and entered Ramanda. Shita[. . .], the city chief of . . .
64. I departed Ramanda and entered Irnisa. The tribute of Shidirpashura of Irnisa, of Bat[x]tigur of Kabsi

65. [. . .] *hi-ma* X ¹*ú-ar-da-at-ti* URU *ad-X-X šá a-na*
 MAN. MEŠ-*ni mah-ru-ti ŠU-su la it-ru-šu*
nap-šá-ti-šu-un la X [. . .]
66. [*na*]-*gi-e šá* KUR *a-a-la-y[a] šu-ut* [. . .] X AH KARASŠ
a-na 1 KASKAL.GÍD.ÀM *pa-an AN E X TU ÍD*
na-X-ku [. . .] MU X MU [. . . M]EŠ GAL.MEŠ [. . .]
67. [*m*]*u-šak-ši-du ir-nit-ti-šú* X DA TIRU KU DIN AT
la-ni-hi si-mat ta-ha-zi KUR.MEŠ [. . .]
a-na šu-zu-u[*b* . . .] MEŠ NI HI X ŠU ŠU X NA [. . .]
68. [*X-y*] *a iṣ-bat-ma a-na aš+šur* EN-*ya ik-nu-šá a-na!*
ni-i-ri TA URU *ir-ni-sa at-tu-muš a-^ṛnā KUR *ú-ra-ta-as*
aq-tí-rib ma-d[a-t]u šá ¹a-za-aš-X-da [. . .] URU [. . .]*
69. [URU . . .]-*ha-gab-ta-a šá ¹bur-bu-a-su šá* KUR
ú-rat-tú-^ṛus^ṛšum-m[u]-uš-da-a šá URU *qar-ka-si-a*
 [. . .]-*zu šá* URU *gi-in-ki-ir šá* [. . .]-*an-X-nu šá*
 KUR *ru-^ṛq[u . . .]*
70. *ṣ[li-im-da-]at ni-ri am-hur ina u₄-me-šú-ma*
 NA₄ NA.RÚ.A DÙ-*ma ṣa-lam* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
 EN. MEŠ-*ya ina* KUR *hu-* [. . .] *ir-nit-ti-ya šá* [. . .] *šu É*
šá [. . .]-*šu-nu ^ṛN^ṛ* [. . .]
71. *ep-še-et šá È AN.ŠÁR ki-šit-ti ŠU^{II}-ya šá* UGU *kib-rat*
4-i aš-ku-nu mim-mu-u ina URU *ki* [. . .] X X KA ŠÚ X
 [. . .] NA *ina* KUR [. . .]
72. *aḥ-ra-taš* X X [X X] *šá AN.ŠÁR MAN kiš-šat ^di-gì-gì*
i- [. . .] *a-na be-lu-ti* KUR *aš+šur* KI *i-zak-k[a-r]u*
 MU-šú NA₄ NA.RÚ.A *šu-a-tú* [. . .] ŠU PA [. . .]
73. X [X X] UR DIIB X ID AN.ŠÁR X X *lit-ta-id-ma* X X URU
 [X] LI X X DA X KU X TI *šá* NA₄ NA.RÚ.A X X HI TU YA [X X]
 TA *šu-bat* X [. . .] NA
74. X *pa-az-re-eš i-nak-ki-mu-ni ù* ÍD.MEŠ *i-šal-lu-ma*
i-[na] ep-ri EŠ ina DINGIR.BIL.GI *i-qam-mu-u-ma*
 X [. . .] *i-šak-ka-nu-ma* X LÍL X [. . .]
75. DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ti AN-e* KI-*ti ag-gi-iš*
li-i[k-kil-m]u-šú NUMUN-šú *ina* KUR-[šú]
li-ḥal-li- q[u . . .]

65. [...] Uardatti of Ad [...] who did not stretch out his hand to previous kings, their lives . . .
66. a [dis]trict of Alaya [...] The camp for one double hour . . . The river Na [x] ku . . .
67. the one who grants victory [...] the untiring, befitting battle, the mountains [...] to save . . .
68. he seized [my . . .]. To Ashur, my lord, he bowed to the yoke. I departed Irnisa and entered Uratas. The tribute of Azash [x] da of . . .
69. . . . ḥagabta; of Burbuasu of Urattus; of Shumushda of Qarkasia; [...] zu of Ginkir; of [...] of Rurqu[. . .]
70. p[air]ed to the yoke I received. At that time, I made a stele. The figure of the great gods, my lords, in the land of Hu [...] my victory which . . .
71. the deed of . . . Ashur, my victories which I established over the four quarters. All in the city . . .
72. For the future. [...] who Ashur, the king of all the Igigi, [...] shall call to the lordship of Assur, this stele . . .
73. . . . Ashur [...] may he closely heed and [...]. Whoever [...] this] stele [...] from the place of [...]
74. [whoever shall] pile it over secretly, or throw it in the river, or X in dirt, or burn it in a fire, [...] place it . . .
75. may the great gods who dwell in heaven and on earth gl[are] at him angrily, may they destroy his seed in [his] land . . .

Obverse

In general there is little to comment on in these badly mutilated lines. On lines 18 and 19 the name Sargon is visible. Line 20 may possibly be restored according to the Cylinder Inscription, I. 1, which reads NU.EŠ *ba-'it* ^d*a-šur ni-šit* IGI^{II} ^d*a-nim* ù ^d*da-gan* (Lyon, *Sargon*, p. 1; *CAD* vol. 2, p. 33, *ba'itu a*). On line 21, the signs MAN KUR *aš-šur* appear, but there seems to be room for another sign between the MAN and the KUR signs. However, no traces are visible in the space, so it may have been blank. For a discussion of the contents of the obverse, cf. p. 27.

Reverse

The first ten lines of the reverse are almost completely destroyed, and little connected sense can be made out of the text. On line 4, the name Yaubi'di of Hamath is visible, so that it is apparent that the text is dealing with the campaign assigned to year 2 by the annals (Lie, *Sargon*, I. 23-57 and the reconstruction of Olmstead, "The Text of Sargon's Annals," *AJSL*, XLVII [1930-31], pp. 262-263). Line 4 may have been the beginning of the account of the second campaign, with year one occupying lines 1-4 of the reverse, or the events of year one may have been on the obverse.

1. 6—Cf. Lie, *Sargon*, I. 24

1.10—Cf. Lie, *Sargon*, I. 63

1.13—For the parallel account in the annals, cf. Lie, *Sargon*, I. 58-65.

The incident on lines 66-68 in the annals may have been included in line 16 of the present text, or it may have been omitted. The text is too fragmentary at that point to decide.

1.15—Cf. Lie, *Sargon*, I. 62-63.

1.16—*ú-šá-za-nin* for *ušaznin*. There are two further such examples in this text of the verb written with a secondary vowel: *ú-šá-za-bil* on line 46 and *ú-šá-ša-riḫ* on line 55. This phenomenon has been noted of late in other neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions; cf. K. Deller, *Or. N.S.* XXVI (1957), p. 148 and S. Page, *Iraq*, XXX (1968), p. 144.

1.17—For the parallel account in the annals, cf. Lie, *Sargon*, I. 68-71. The name Tusha is, as far as I have been able to determine, attested here for the first time. Our account confirms the suggestion of Tadmor (*JCS*, XII (1958), p. 86, n. 262) that the reference in the eponym list C^b4 must be "[against Ta]bal," and that Shinuḫtu is to be located in Tabal.

1.20—For parallel accounts, cf. Lie, *Sargon*, I, 72-76 and A. 16496 (=JCS, XII (1958), p. 22). The incident connected with Pappa and Lallukna which is appended to the account of the fifth campaign in the annals is not found on the stele. The name Shem-tarru is not attested in connection with this campaign in other accounts.

1.21—The DAM sign is perhaps to be read as *mim-ma* for *mim-ma-[šum-šu]*.

1.22—The GUŠKIN is written on either side of an original crack in the stone.

1.23—The sixth campaign begins on the now missing part of this line. For the parallel texts, cf. Lie, *Sargon*, I, 79-100; *AfO*, XIV (1941-1944), p. 41, I, 1-22; and K. 1669 (Winckler, *Sargon*, II, P1. 45), I, 1-25. For a further breakdown of the annals account of the sixth campaign, cf. above, p. 40. The account of the campaign near the Egyptian border in the Assur prism (*AfO*, XIV, p. 42, I, 1-11) and on a fragment from Nineveh (79-7-8, 14, I, 1-18 [=Winckler, *Sargon*, II, P1. 45]) is not included in our text, nor is it part of the annals from Khorsabad. In this way, as well as in the numbering of the campaigns (cf. above), our account follows the Khorsabad text more closely than it does the other texts.

1.24—The *ad* sign may be *ši*.

1.26—The traces before *-šá-a-ti* better resemble *gáb* than *gab*.

1.31—The meaning of *pí-ri-iš-tu* is unknown to me.

1.33—The first verb seems to be an *š* form of *adāru*, but its use in neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions is otherwise unattested and the meaning in this broken context is elusive. Patta is not previously attested.

1.34—The translation of *āšīt UKÙ* is very tentatively advanced. There are no good parallels to this passage recorded in the *CAD*.

1.36—Ḫundir is mentioned in *Iraq*, XIV (1952), p. 69, 1.17, but the context is broken and the passage not informative.

1.38—Note the variant writings of *ú-nu-ut* in 1.18 and *a-nu-ut* in this line.

1.39—The *na* after *na-qi* is inexplicable. The restoration *a-bur-[riš ušarbiš]* is also possible.

1.40—Bit Sagabi is probably to be identified with Bit Sagbat of the annals account. It is one of the principalities which brings tribute to Sargon in Parsua during the course of his eighth campaign (*TCL*, III, 1.44).

1.41—For the location of Harhar, cf. my *HGZ*, pp. 167-172.

1.43—The beginning of the line remains unclear. The repetition of the phrases *dabda maḥāšu* and *dikta dâku* is somewhat unusual.

1.45—Arazishu has a long record in the neo-Assyrian texts. It

occurs in the records of Shalmaneser III, Shamshi-Adad v, Adad-Nirari III, Tiglath Pileser III, Sargon and Ashurbanipal. There are a number of spellings that occur, both with and without assimilated *n* before *z*. Bit Ramatiya occurs only in the parallel account in the annals, where it is written *Ramatua*.

1.46—Zakruti is the start of the Median part of this campaign. It is described as a part of Media in the annals of Tiglath Pileser III (Rost 44, 18) and it too is one of the principalities that brings tribute to Sargon in Parsua in the course of the eighth campaign (*TLC*, III, 1.47). I cannot explain the signs A MEŠ KA NIN TI.

1.47—Kurabli is previously unattested. Shaparda is also written Saparda, and is mentioned among the tributaries at Parsua in the eighth campaign (*TCL*, III, 1.47). Daiku is to be compared with the *Dayaukki* of Lie, *Sargon*. 1. 102, although the identity of the two is uncertain.

1.48—Bigali is previously unattested. Sikris is known as a part of Media (Winckler, *Sargon*, II, 45, Sm. 2022, II, 10). It is also included in the list of tributaries during Sargon's ninth campaign as recorded in the Nineveh prism (Winckler, *Sargon*, II, 44, C14 [hereafter, Prism]) where it is written *si-ik-ri-sa-a-a*. (The reading *sa* follows *LAR*, II, 192. Luckenbill apparently had collations of the text available to him when he was compiling the translation. Cf. Cameron, *HEI*, p. 153, n.27.) Bit Uargi is written Bit Umargi in the annals (1.95).

1.49-54—There is a series of names in these lines that are not previously attested. These include Abrau (1.49), Arusa (1.51), Pattus (1.52), Ukuta (1.52), and Anzaknie (1.54). A thorough account of a campaign through the area under discussion has not been known heretofore and thus the large number of geographic place names that are new is not surprising.

1.54—Note the use of *ina* in place of *ana* GN *aqtirib*.

1.55—Karakka of Uriyaka is also known from the list of those who bring tribute to Sargon in Parsua in his eighth campaign (*TCL*, III, 49). While the name Karakka occurs with only minor orthographic variants (¹*kar-ak-ku* (*TCL*, III, 49; ¹*ka-rak-ku* ABL 713, 6), the name of the country occurs in a number of very different forms. Thus, in addition to the references listed in Parpola, *AOAT*, VI p. 374 under Urjakku, there are also the reference in *TCL*, III, 49 to Urik(aya) (listed by Parpola on p. 373 under Urikaja), and the orthography of this text.

1.56—Upurya is mentioned in the annals (1. 186) and in the Prism (1.24). Both Pattashshun and Darue are unknown. There does exist in Iraqi Kurdistan a mountain called Daru today, but the identity of the two is highly doubtful.

1.57—Bustus is mentioned in the annals (11. 187 ff.) as one of the lands of the Medes. It is also mentioned in the Prism (1. 26). The meaning and form of the word *šilipu* are unknown to me. For the restoration of Satarbanu at the end of the line, cf. below, 1.61.

1.58—The name Mashtakka is well attested in both the Prism and in the Eighth Campaign. Four individuals bear a name resembling this: Mashdaku of Amakki (Prism, 17), Mashduku of Amesta (Prism, 28), Mashdayaukku of Kingaraku (*TCL*, III, 45) and Mashdakku of Aradpatti (*TCL*, III, 49). The number of individuals involved here, and whether the Mashtakka of our text is to be identified with one of them is as yet indeterminable. The name contains the element *akk* or *ukk*, an element found in a number of other names from the same area in this period. Thus we have in the list of those who bring tribute to Sargon in Parsua, Payaukku, Kitakki, Paukku, Zarduku, Karakku and Akkussu (*TCL*, III, 43, 44, 45, 49, 49, 48 resp.). Whether the element is to be connected with the Hurrian *ukk* (*NPN*, p. 271 and literature cited there) remains problematic. Araishta, the district from which Mashtakka comes, is not otherwise attested.

Razishtu of Bustus is not otherwise known, and the reading in 1.59 is clearly Razidatu. In the Prism, the name of the representative from Bustus is Ariya (1. 26).

Ushra of Kazabakani is mentioned in both the Prism (1.27) and in the Eighth Campaign (1. 47). In both those texts, the name of the country is written with the *n* before *z* unassimilated, as here, but not on 1.60.

1.60—Datumbu is previously unattested.

Karzinu is mentioned in both the tribute list from the Eighth Campaign (1. 48) as well as the Prism (1. 33).

1.61—Satarbanu occurs in both the Eighth Campaign (1. 49) and in the Prism (1. 24). In the former, he is said to be from Barikanu. Since only a single wedge differentiates *ba* from *su*, and since the Satarbanu of our text is said to come from Surikanu, we can assume the identity of the two. In deciding which of the two (the *ba* or the *sa*) is the preferred reading, the occurrence of Barikanu in the Prism (1. 34) would strongly suggest that it is the Eighth Campaign version that is correct. The personal name before Barikanu in the Prism (1. 34) is only partially preserved, but can now be restored with some certainty as ¹*sa-tar-par-nu*. The other Satarbanu of the Prism (1. 24) is from Uppuria, and is not the same individual. It does however allow us a probable restoration of this name at the end of line 57 of our text.

The name Uppa. . . at the end of the line is perhaps to be restored with Prism 1. 16 as Uppamma. The name of the city in both

cases is partially effaced, but the traces do not seem to agree.

1.62—Saka is unknown. It is not to be identified with the Sakka of Tiglath Pileser III (Rost 32, 180) and it probably has nothing to do with the later Scythian Saka.

Harziani occurs in both the Prism (1.29) and in the Eighth Campaign (1. 49). In the latter, the ruler is listed as Zardukka, as in the present text. In the former, he is listed as Hardukka. Once again, as only a single wedge differentiates *ha* from *za*, it is probably safe to assume a mistake, and the Prism text should probably be corrected to read Zardukka with the Eighth Campaign and the present text. An Ishtesuku is known from the Prism, (1. 18) where he is said to be from Ishteuppu.

1.63-68—A series of previously unattested names occurs in these lines. The river Darue (1. 63) bears the same name as the mountain in 1. 56, but nothing more can be said of it. Kabsi (1. 64) is known from the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III and Sargon II, where it occurs as Bit Kabsi, and twice as a patronym, DUMU Kabsi. The name Uratas on line 68 occurs as Urattus on line 69.

1.69—Burbuasu of Urattus is probably to be identified with Burburazu of Bit Ishtar in the Eighth Campaign (1. 46). The name Bit Ishtar, which occurs first in the inscriptions of Tiglath Pileser III, is almost certainly secondary, and we can assume that Urattus was renamed, just as Sargon renamed Kišesim Kar Nergal (Annals, 11. 94-95) and Harhar Kar Šarruken (Annals 96-100).

Qarkasia is attested in the Prism (1. 36). The name of the ruler is broken on the Prism, and Shummushda is otherwise unattested.

The name Ginkir should probably be compared with the Girgira of Tiglath Pileser III (Rost 28, 159), but the identification is not certain.

Appendix

In this appendix, I have attempted to collect all of the presently known Assyrian commemorative stelae from the neo-Assyrian period, and to remark briefly on their general historical development as an artistic genre. While I hope that the list is complete, there is no way to be certain. As far as I know, no complete list of Assyrian stelae exists,⁴¹ and in searching out the known exemplars, pieces may have been overlooked. Additions would be welcomed.

For purposes of this discussion, I have divided the commemorative stelae into three categories according to form. First is the "standard" stele type, the one which uses the entire obverse to depict basically a single figure. This type is generally a large slab, with the dimension across the obverse usually significantly greater than the dimension from front to back. Second is the "obelisk" type, which differs from the "standard" type not only in the shape of the overall monument, which in this case is rather square in section, but also in the arrangement of the pictographic material. We shall return to this later. Finally, there exists a third group, which is characterized by its lack of uniformity, and by the fact that it does not fit either of the first two groups.

There follows a list of each group, arranged chronologically by monarch where applicable. Non-royal and dubious pieces are placed at the end of the group to which they belong.⁴²

I *The "standard" type*

A. Royal Monuments

1. Ashurnasirpal II

a. Great Monolith (BM 118805)

photo: H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum* (Paris & Brussels, 1928), pl. XIII.

text: AKA, 242 ff.

meas.: 295 x 138 x 38 cms.

b. Kurkh Monument (BM 118883)

photo: None

text: AKA, 222 ff.

meas.: 193 x 93 x 27 cms.

c. Babil Stele

photo: J. D. Hawkins, "The Babil Stele of Assurnasirpal," *Anatolian Studies*, XIX (London, 1969), pl. x and Fig. 1.

text: *ibid.*, pp. 111-120.

meas.: Ht. preserved 170 cms., reconst. c. 200 cms.

2. Shalmaneser III

Kurkh Monolith (BM 118884)

photo: *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum from Shalmaneser III to Sennacherib*

text: III R, p. 7-8.

meas.: 221 x 87 x 23 cms.

3. Shamshi-Adad v

a. Calah (BM 118892)

photo: H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum* (Paris & Brussels, 1928), pl. XXIV, 1.

text: I R, p. 29-31.

meas.: 198 x 14 x 75 cms.

b. Duplicate of BM 118892 (BM 115020)

Neither text nor photo published:

meas.: 25* x 25* x 14 cms.

4. Adad-Nirari III

a. Rimah Stele

photo: Stephanie Page, "A Stele of Adad-Nirari III and Nergal-Ereš from Tell al Rimah," *Iraq*, XXX (London, 1968), pl. XXXVIII.

text: *ibid.*, pp. 139-153.

meas.: Ht. 130, wd. 69 cms. at base.

b. Arban Stele (BM 131124)

To be published by Millard and Tadmor — cf. H. Tadmor, "Fragments of a Stele of Sargon, King of Assyria, from the Excavations at Ashdod," *Eretz-Israel*, VIII (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 241, n. 7.

c. Nineveh Stele

photo: None published, but a brief description was published with the text.

text: R. Campbell Thompson and M.E.L. Mallowan, "The British Museum Excavations at Nineveh, 1931-34," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XX

(Edinburgh, 1933), pp. 113-115, pls. XCVIII—C.

5. Tiglath Pileser III—Published here.
6. Sargon II
 - a. Larnaka Stele
photo: E. Schrader, "Die Sargonsstele des Berliner Museums", *AAWB*, 1881/vI (Berlin, 1882), p. 5n.
text: *VAS* I, p. 71.
meas.: Ht. 209, wd. 68, thickness 32 cms. preserved, originally 45.50 cms.
 - b. Ashdod Stele
photo: H. Tadmor, "Fragments of a stele of Sargon, King of Assyria, from the excavations at Ashdod," *Eretz-Israel*, VIII (Jerusalem, 1967), pl. 41.
text: *ibid.*, pp. 241-245.
 - c. Najafehabad Stele—Published here.
7. Esarhaddon
 - a. Zinjirli (Berlin VA 2708)
photo: E. Schrader and F. Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, I (Berlin, 1893), pl. I—III.
text: Riekele Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhad-don Königs von Assyrien* (Osnabrück, 1967), pp. 96-100.
meas.: Ht. 322, wd. 135 cms.
 - b. Til Barsip A
photo: F. Thureau-Dangin and Maurice Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936), pl. XII.
text: Riekele Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhad-don Königs von Assyrien* (Osnabrück, 1967), pp. 100-101.
meas.: 380 x 172 x 60-70 cms.
 - c. Til Barsip B
photo: F. Thureau-Dangin and Maurice Dunand, *Til-Barsib* (Paris, 1936), pl. XIII.
text: Uninscribed.
meas.: Ht. *240, wd. *125 cms. Reconst. 330 x 66 cms.

B. Non-royal Monuments

Two other monuments belonging to this genre but not “royal” monuments are:

1. The stele of Bel Harran Bela Usur. (Istanbul 1326)

photo: James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1954), p. 156, no. 453.

text: E. Unger, *Die Stele des Bel-Harran-Beli-Ussur* (Istanbul, 1917)

meas.: Ht. 183 cms.

2. The stele of Mushezib-Shamash at Anaz.

photo: *RLA* I, p. 14

text: Henri Pognon, *Inscriptions Semitiques de la Syrie, de la Mesopotamie et de la Region de Mossoul* (Paris, 1907), No. 59, pp. 106-7.

C. Rock Reliefs

A further group of material closely related to this first genre of stelae is the rock reliefs which are carved in the same shape as the “standard” stelae, and are clearly part of the same artistic tradition.

Among the rock carvings, two are relevant. The first is the “small” relief of Sennacherib at Bawian, the second the relief of Esarhaddon at Nahr al-kalb.

1. Sennacherib, Bawian

photo: W. Bachmann, *Felsreliefs in Assyrien* (Leipzig, 1927), pls. 21-24.

text: D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (Chicago, 1924), pp. 78-85.

2. Esarhaddon, Nahr al-kalb

photo: *AOB*, pl. LXV, no. 146.

text: Riekele Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddon Königs von Assyrien* (Osnabrück, 1967), p. 101.

D. Secondary Sources

Finally, there are three secondary sources for “standard” type stelae. The first two, on the bronze gates of Shalmaneser III from Balawat, are actually depictions of rock

reliefs in the form of stelae. The last is the depiction of a stele on the reliefs of Ashurbanipal. None of these, as would be expected, bears a text.

1. Shalmaneser III

a. L. W. King (ed.), *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser* (London, 1915), pl. I, Band I. 1.

b. *Ibid.*, pl. LIX, Band X. 6.

2. Ashurbanipal⁴³

H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Harmondsworth, 1958), pl. 106.

II. The "obelisk" type

1. Ashurnasirpal II

a. White Obelisk

photo: *MAOG*, VI, 1-2, pls. 1-XVI.

text: *Ibid.*, p. 1 ff.

meas.: Ht. 289 cms.

b. Obelisk (BM 118800)

photo: C. J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (London, 1936), pl. 6.

text: *Ibid.*, p. 128.

c. Fragmentary Obelisk

photo: No photo published.

text: R. Campbell Thompson and R. W. Hutchison "The Site of the Palace of Ashurnasirpal at Nineveh, excavated in 1929-30 on behalf of the British Museum," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XVIII (Edinburgh, 1931), pl. XXXVI, no. 1.

2. Shalmaneser III

Black Obelisk (BM 118885)

photo: James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1954), nos. 351-354.

text: A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Characters from Assyrian Monuments* (London, 1851), 87-89.

III. *The miscellaneous pieces*

There are two pieces which belong to group III, the miscellaneous group. First is the Saba'a stele of Adad-Nirari III. This monument, which bears some relation to the obelisk group in overall shape, differs from the other exemplars in the way it was decorated. Rather than a series of panels, or a continuous frieze, it has only a single panel over the entire upper half of the obverse. It is thus unique in its decorative approach.

1. Saba'a Stele (Istanbul 2823)

photo: James B. Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East in Pictures* (Princeton, 1954), p. 153, no. 444.

text: E. Unger, *Reliefstele Adadniraris III. aus Saba'a und Semiramis*, Istanbul, 1916.

meas.: Ht. 192 cms.

One last monument, the "Banquet Stele" of Ashurnasirpal II is unique in both decoration and overall form. It is a large rectangular stone; most of the obverse is covered with an inscription. A small panel, set in below the top edge and centred, is the only pictorial decoration that the stele carries.

2. Banquet Stele

photo: M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and Its Remains* (London, 1966), p. 63.

text: Donald J. Wiseman, "The Nimrud tablets, 1953," *Iraq*, xv (London, 1953), p. 135 ff.

meas.: Ht. 127 cms.

Finally, the following fragments are included. They are ascribed to Sargon; however, neither the group to which they belong nor, except for 3, the king is certain.

1. Samaria Stele

photo: J. W. Crowfoot, G. M. Crowfoot and K. M. Kenyon, *Samaria-Sebaste III: The Objects* (Palestine Exploration Fund, 1957), pl. n. 2, 3.

text: *Ibid.*, p. 35.

2. Carchemish

photo: R. D. Barnett, "The Hittite Inscriptions," *Carchemish III* (London, 1952), pl. A 33m.

text: *Ibid.*, p. 265.

3. Asharne

photo: F. Thureau-Dangin, "La stèle d'Asharné," *RA*,
xxx (1933), pl. 1.

text: *Ibid.*, pp. 53-56.

The list presented above does not cover all those monuments which have been called stelae by others, nor does it include non-Assyrian stelae from the neo-Assyrian period. Thus, the stelae from the plaza of stelae at Assur and the small Sennacherib pieces from Nineveh are excluded, because they differ in intent, to my mind, from those described above.⁴⁴ So too, the non-Assyrian stelae of Til-Barsip, the Ashurbanipal and Šamas-šum-ukin pieces from Babylon, the Urartian stelae from Kel-i-shin and Topzawa, and the Šamaš-reša-ušur piece are not listed, as they are not Assyrian, although the last mentioned bears a close resemblance to the banquet stele of Ashurnasirpal. The stele of Tukulti-Ninurta II, the earliest neo-Assyrian stele yet discovered, is also excluded, as it is clearly part of the north Syrian tradition, and not a truly Assyrian monument.

While it is beyond the scope of the present work to write a history of free standing monuments in the Ancient Near East, or even for that matter of the neo-Assyrian royal stele, a few remarks about the development of this type of monument in neo-Assyrian times seem in order. The first widespread use of the free standing monument in neo-Assyrian times occurs during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II.⁴⁵ It thus coincides with the general artistic ferment that is so notable during the reign of this king, the first to experiment with the widespread use of stone bas-relief sculpture. During the reign of Ashurnasirpal and that of his son Shalmaneser III, a freedom of experimentation with free standing monuments seems to have been the rule. Three forms were used—the obelisk, the large rectangle of the Banquet stele, and what was to become the "standard" stele type. But even within these forms, there is evidence of experimentation. Thus, the "white obelisk" of Ashurnasirpal had the pictorial frieze running in a continuous band, while the "black obelisk" of Shalmaneser uses separate panels.

For the reigns of Shamshi-Adad V and Adad-Nirari III all of the royal stelae, with the exception of the Saba'a stele, are of the "standard" type. The Saba'a stele, as was noted, harks back to the obelisk in form, but is both unique in conception and, for whatever the judgement is worth, provincial. The period following Adad-Nirari is a blank in our record of stelae, as it is generally in both royal texts and monuments.

For the reign of Tiglath Pileser III, the only known stele is the one published here. While it is certainly part of the "standard" tradition, its raised border on top and generally long, narrow dimensions may hint at a holdover from the "obelisk" form.

With the Sargonids, all forms of stelae except the "standard" type disappear, and with Sargon II and Esarhaddon, the monument achieves a popularity unknown since the time of Ashurnasirpal. There are no known stelae from the reigns of Sennacherib, although the Hines rock carvings as well as textual references bear witness to the continuance of the tradition.

For the reign of Ashurbanipal, we have no exemplars of the "standard" stele aside from the one depicted on his reliefs.^{4,6} Whether this is the result of the accident of discovery is not clear. The mention of stelae in the Ashurbanipal texts is rare, and it may well be that this form of monument was losing favour. For the king who brought the portrayal of action in Assyrian carving to its height, the static and relatively limited form of the stele probably held little attraction.

Finally, we can observe that the "standard" stele never really became standard. The placement of the divine symbols, the conventions governing the inscription and numerous other details vary greatly from monument to monument. It should be noted that during the reign of Esarhaddon, the "standard" form becomes considerably more elaborated. Figures other than the king are introduced onto the front of the stele, and figures of the king's crown princes are carved on the sides. This elaboration may have been part of a need to expand the artistic uses of the stele form, and when even this expansion was found to be artistically restrictive, the form was virtually abandoned by Esarhaddon's son and successor, Ashurbanipal.

1. The identification of the stone was made by x-ray diffraction. I would like to thank Dr. R. I. Gait, Mineralogy Department, Royal Ontario Museum, for making the identification.
2. For a short discussion of Assyrian stelae, see the Appendix.
3. For relative sizes of the stelae presently known, see the Appendix.
4. In the reliefs of Tiglath Pileser III, the king is always depicted as wearing this crown. Cf. *STP*, Plates VIII, XIX, XXII, LIX, LXIII, LXXI, LXXIV, LXXXV, LXXXVII, XCVI, XCVIII. T. A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art*, London, 1970, should be consulted for further details about the crown, as well as for the other artistic features discussed.
5. An even simpler version, with only the lower band which widens over the forehead, can be seen in *STP*, VIII. The reliefs of Tiglath Pileser do not seem to indicate why the simpler crown was worn at certain times and the more elaborate at others.
6. The reliefs portray the ribbon sometimes emerging from beneath the crown (*STP*, XCVIII) and sometimes attached to the bottom band of the crown (*STP*, XXII). This detail is unclear in the monument under discussion. The single ribbon, while unusual, is not unknown (*STP*, XXII).
7. In this case, as well, there is no standardization in the reliefs. Most often the king is shown with an earring (e.g. *STP*, VIII, XCVIII, etc.), but at times he appears not to be wearing one (*STP*, LXXI).
8. The styling of beards varies, both in the number of bands of curls as well as in the number of rows in each band. See note 4 for a list of the appropriate slabs.
9. I take the phrase *ina mahrê palêya* of line 36 to mean "in my first *palû*," i.e. "in the year of my accession" [Tadmor, *JCS*, XII (1958), p. 30], and not "at the beginning of my reign." *Palû* is normally used by Tiglath Pileser III to mean year of reign, and there is no reason to assume that he departs from this usage here.
10. On the date of this list, cf. below, pp. 14-15.
11. Cf. the discussion below on the date of the stele.
12. *RLA* II, sub "Eponymen."
13. For a discussion of the geographical location of Namri, see my *HGZ*, pp. 98-107.
14. *HGZ*, pp. 178 ff.
15. For the list in the annals, see III R 9, 3, 50-54 (=LAR 1, ¶ 772).

16. The following is a complete list to date of primary publications on the excavations at Godin Tepe and the stele under discussion.
- Young, T. Cuyler, Jr.,
 "The Needle in the Haystack: A Discovery in Iran," *Meeting Place I*, 6 (1966), 92-96.
 "Godin Tepe," *Iran V* (1967), 139-140.
 "Beside the Silk Road," *Rotunda I* (1968), 2: 2-11.
 "Godin Tepe," *Iran VI* (1968), 160-161.
 "The Excavations at Godin Tepe. New Light on the Archaeology of the Zagros," *Archaeologia Viva*, I (1968), 156.
 "The chronology of the late third and second millennia in central western Iran as seen from Godin Tepe," *AJA LXXIII*, 3 (1969), 287-291.
Excavations at Godin Tepe: First Progress Report (Toronto, 1969), Royal Ontario Museum. Art and Archaeology Occasional Paper 17.
 "Second Millenium Surprises," *Rotunda III/2* (1970), 6-13.
- Young, T. Cuyler, Jr. and Philip E. L. Smith
 "Research in the Prehistory of Central Western Iran," *Science* 153(3734)(22 July 1966), 386-391.
- Smith, Philip E. L. and T. Cuyler Young, Jr.,
 "Excavations in Western Iran," *Archaeology XX/1* (1967), 64.
- Levine, Louis D.,
Contributions to the Historical Geography of the Zagros in the Neo-Assyrian Period, Ann Arbor, 1969 (Thesis).
 "Of Medes and Media," *Rotunda III/2* (1970), 36-44.
17. See, for example, C. Wilkinson, "The Achaemenian Remains at Qasr-i-Abu Nasr," *JNES*, XXIV (1965), 341-345. Sherds which may be Sassanian were found at Najafehabad, but the pottery of this period is still too poorly known to be certain.
18. See above, note 16.
19. See the discussion of these stelae in the appendix.
20. See the appendix.
21. The Najafehabad stele shares a number of points in common with the Larnaka stele. In both, the cap has three rows of appliqué, with a double ribbon descending from the cap. In addition, the robe in both cases is similar.
22. H. Tadmor, *JCS*, XII (1954), pp. 83-84.
23. M. Ford, "The Contradictory Records of Sargon II of Assyria and the meaning of *palû*," *JCS*, XXII (1968-69), 83-84.

24. University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series, III/1, Columbia, 1916.
25. A case in point is G. Cameron's understanding of Sargon's sixth campaign, the one under discussion here. As will be seen, the evidence from the stele now points to the region of the Assadabad valley as the terminal point of the campaign. Cameron, lacking this new source and working only with the highly compressed account in the annals, terminated the campaign in southern Shahrizur, some 250 miles to the west (*HEI*, p. 150).
26. This work was completed as a Ph.D. dissertation for the University of Pennsylvania in 1969. I hope to publish the results of this study in the near future as a series of articles. A number of places in the Zagros are treated, and an extensive bibliography for each is given. I refrain from reproducing that bibliography in the footnote apparatus to this work as reference can be made to the dissertation or to the forthcoming articles.
27. *HGZ*, 153 ff.
28. *AfO*, XIV (1941-44), 41, 19 and Winckler, *Sargon*, II, Pl. 45, E, 14 ff.
29. *TCL* III, 11.
30. The problem of the relationship between Zamua and Lullume is complicated and cannot be treated here. I hope to return to this in detail in the future, but at present it should be noted that in the early neo-Assyrian period the two places are apparently separate entities, as Adad Nirari II mentions both in a single list (*MAOG*, IX/3 [1935], 14, 23). By the time of Sargon, the situation seems to have changed, and the two were identified. For a discussion of Zamua, see *HGZ*, 73 ff.
31. A problem arises with this reconstruction. From other sources, the Lake Zeribor district can be identified with Missi (*HGZ*, 158). Whether we can make room for both Missi and Karalla in this limited area depends wholly upon our understanding of the size of the Zagros principalities. In the campaigns of Ashurnasirpal II against Zamua, an area basically contained in a single valley in the Zagros, this king encountered a large number of principalities, each with its own chief and each bearing a different name (see E. A. Speiser, "Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal and Today," *AASOR*, VIII [1928], 1-42). This would indicate that many of the Zagros states were very restricted in size, and suggests that it is reasonable to place both Missi and Karalla in the Lake Zeribor region.
32. On the location of Surikash, see *HGZ*, 153-166.

33. Lie, *Sar.*, 16, 93 and Winckler, *Sargon*, 108, 58.
34. See *HGZ*, 142.
35. *IR* 30, III, 27 ff.
36. See *HGZ*, 181 ff.
37. This last piece of information cannot, of itself, weigh very heavily in the argument, as it is theoretically possible for the representative of Kishesim to have traveled some distance to Sargon's presence in Parsua. However, with the other evidence at hand, the proximity of Kishesim to Parsua seems likely.
38. Winckler, *Sargon*, 124, 149.
39. *HGZ*, 118 ff.
40. Lie, *Sargon*, 95 and 100.
41. The most recent listing of neo-Assyrian royal stelae is by H. Tadmor in *Eretz-Israel*, VIII (Jerusalem, 1967), p. 241, n. 7.
42. I have included, in each case, a reference to a photo and to an edition of the text. Where a recent edition exists, I have chosen it. Otherwise, the standard publication has been cited. Reference to Borger, *HKL*, will provide further bibliography. The choice of photograph was rather arbitrary. Many of the monuments have been illustrated a number of times, while others have, to my knowledge, no published photo. In each case I have tried to choose the clearest of the published photos. When no photo or text was discovered, I have noted this. I have also included the museum number, where it was known, and the dimensions, when published. For the museum numbers and dimensions of the British Museum monuments, I am indebted to Dr. R. D. Barnett and Mr. C.B.F. Walker.
43. It should be observed that the occurrence of this stele on the reliefs of Ashurbanipal does not, of necessity, mean that it is a stele of that king which is portrayed. The artist who carved the relief was incorporating into it the landscape which he observed, and a stele erected by an earlier monarch and left standing would have been included. This is especially true if, as Dr. Barnett has suggested to me, the stele and scene are in Assyria and not in Elam, and that the triumphal return to Assyria is what is depicted.
44. I have, in excluding these pieces, not followed the native classification of these monuments, for the Assur pieces, as well as the Sennacherib ones, would be described as *nāru* in Akkadian, as are the stelae which I have listed. *Nāru* probably referred to any free-standing stone monument, and even to rock inscriptions. However, I think we can discern a common intent in all of the pieces listed in groups I-III. All are commemorative of political-military triumphs of the kings of Assyria. They thus

differ in conception from the stelae at Assur and from the Sennacherib pieces.

45. Both the stele and obelisk have older forerunners. The latter is known from the middle Assyrian period in the broken obelisk of Assur-bel-kala (cf. Brinkman, *An. Or.* 43, pp. 383 ff.). The stele is a much older form, but the specific form of the "standard" type appears to be a neo-Assyrian invention.
46. Cf., however, note 43, above.

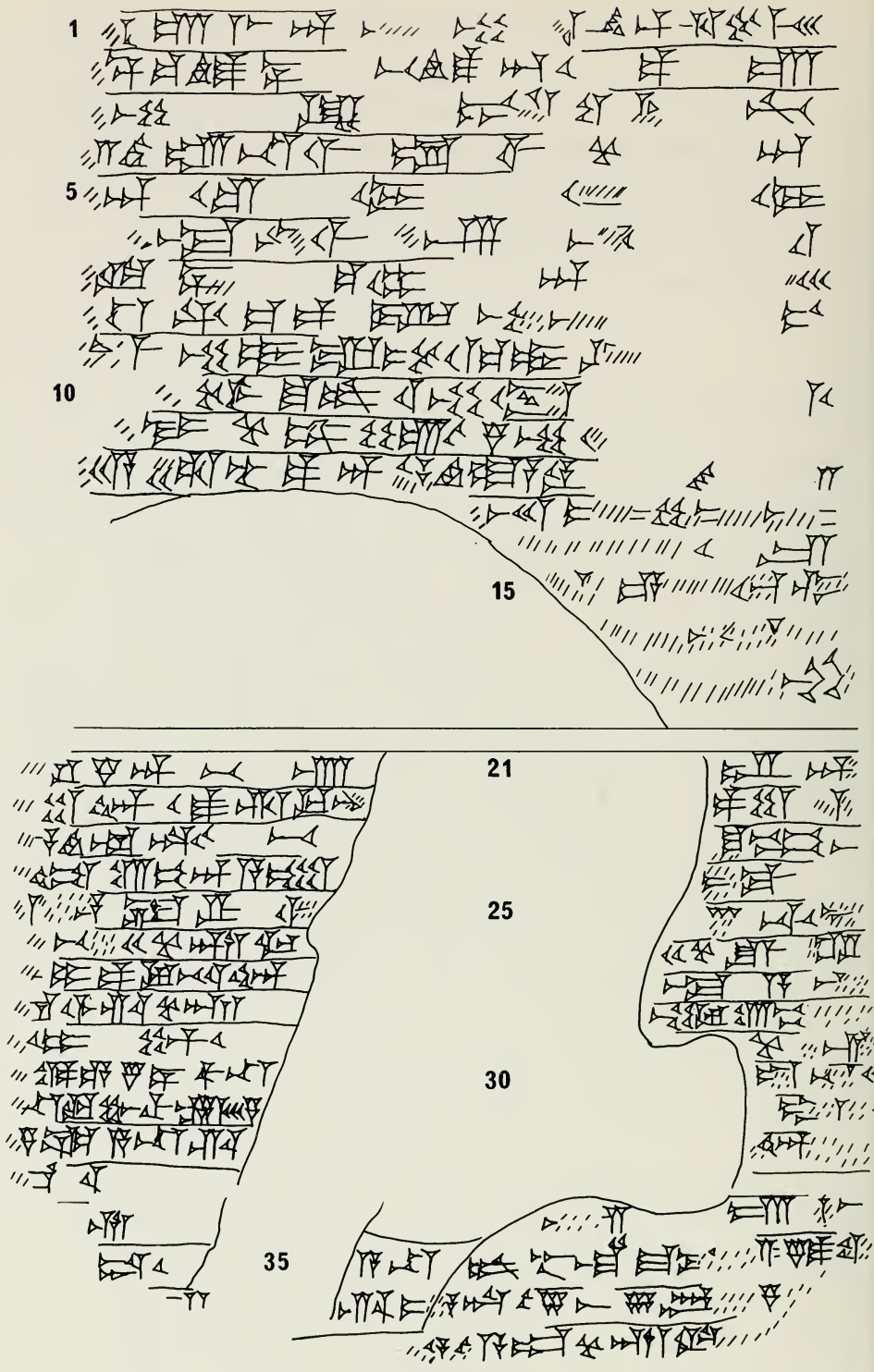


Fig. 1 Stele of Tiglath Pileser III; copy of text, front

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Fig. 2 Stele of Tiglath Pileser III; copy of text, side

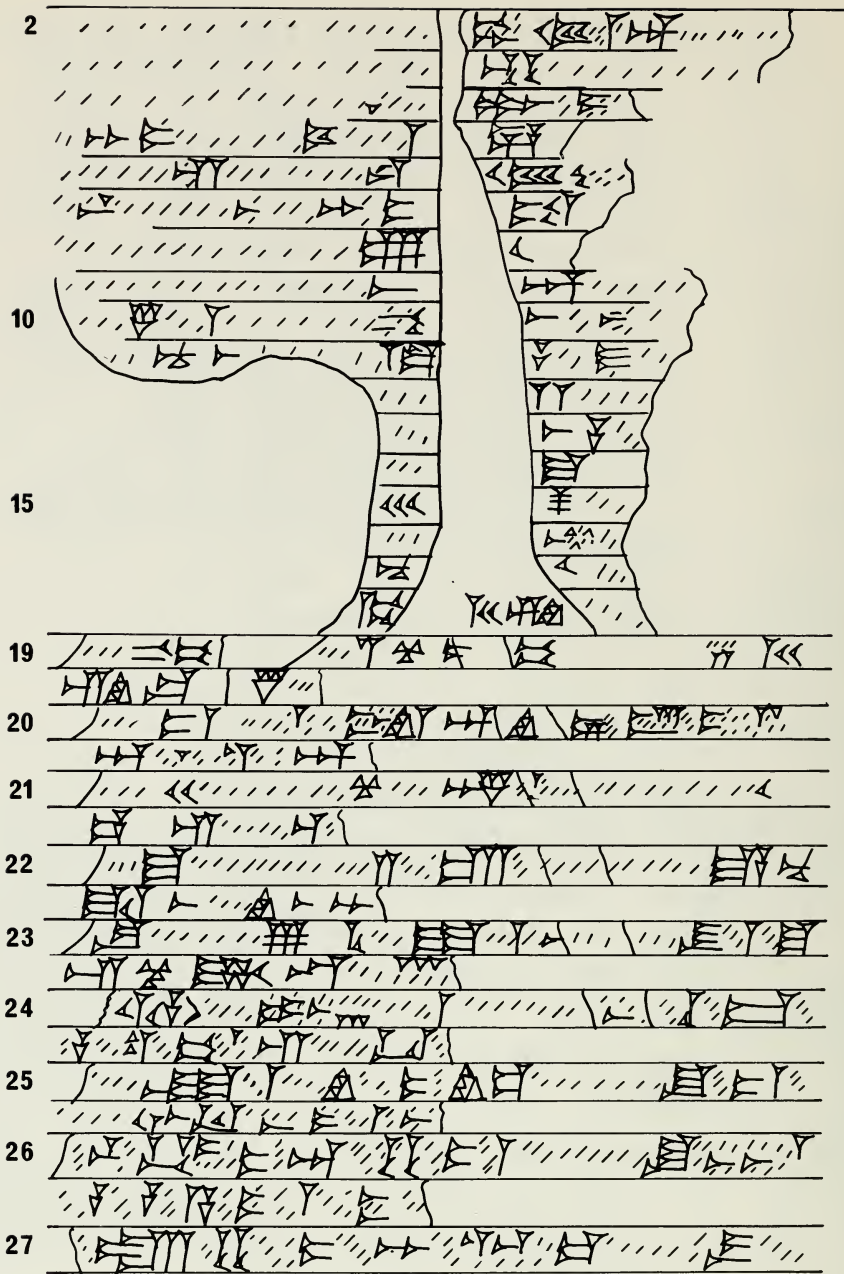


Fig. 3-4 Stele of Sargon II; copy of text, front

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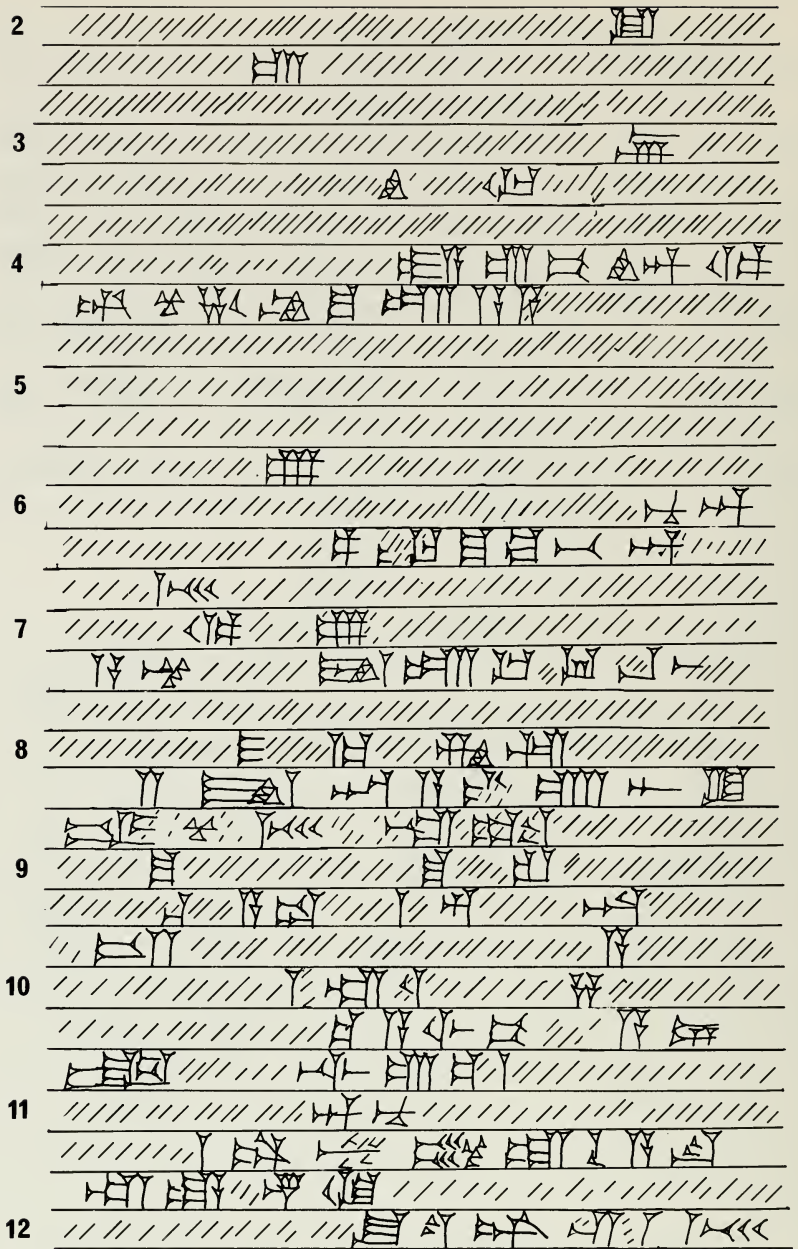


Fig. 5-12 Stele of Sargon II; copy of text, back

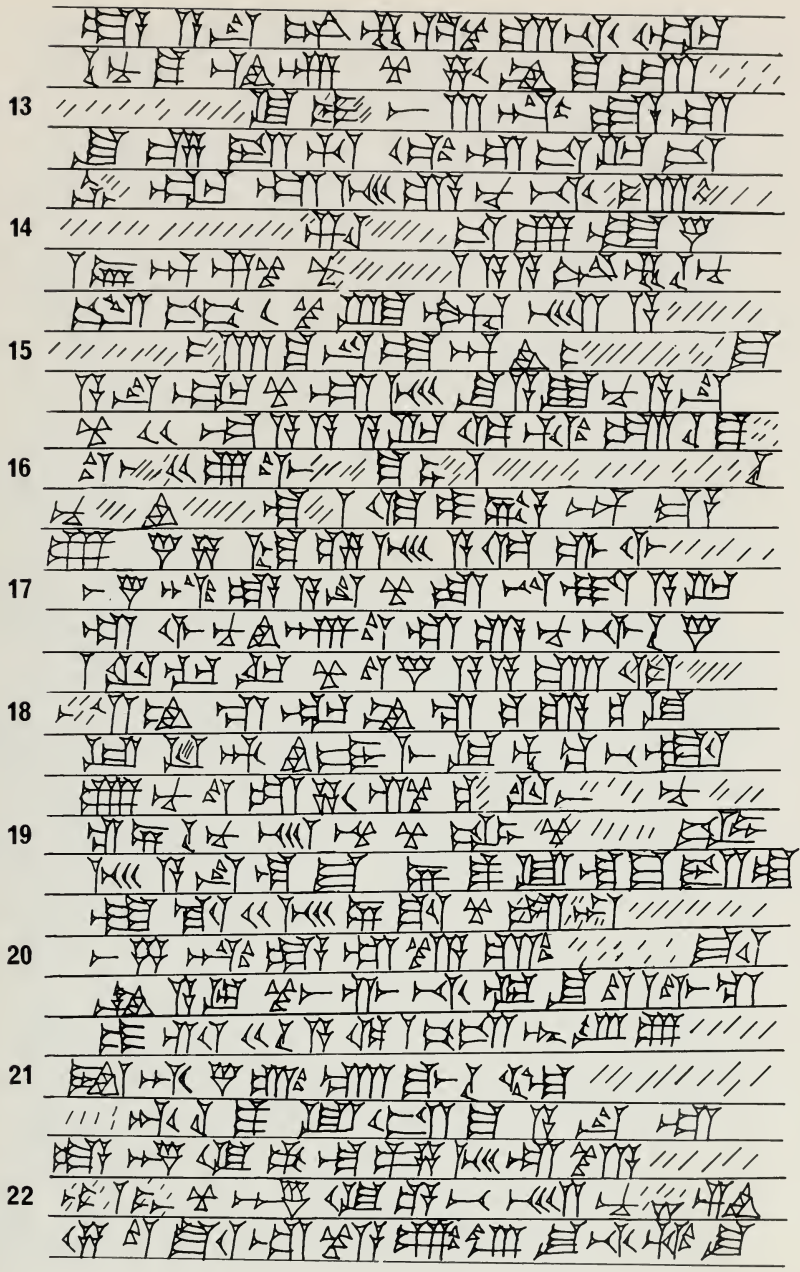


Fig. 6

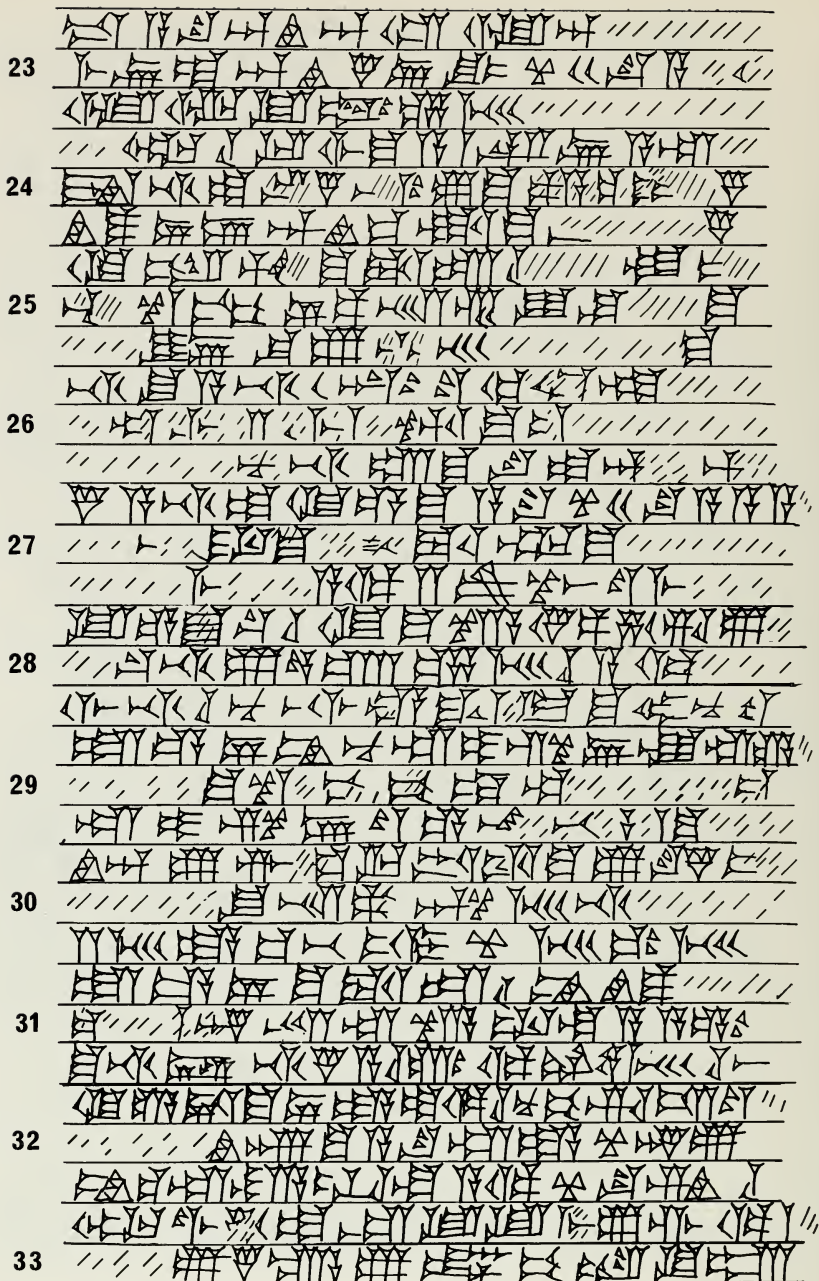


Fig. 7

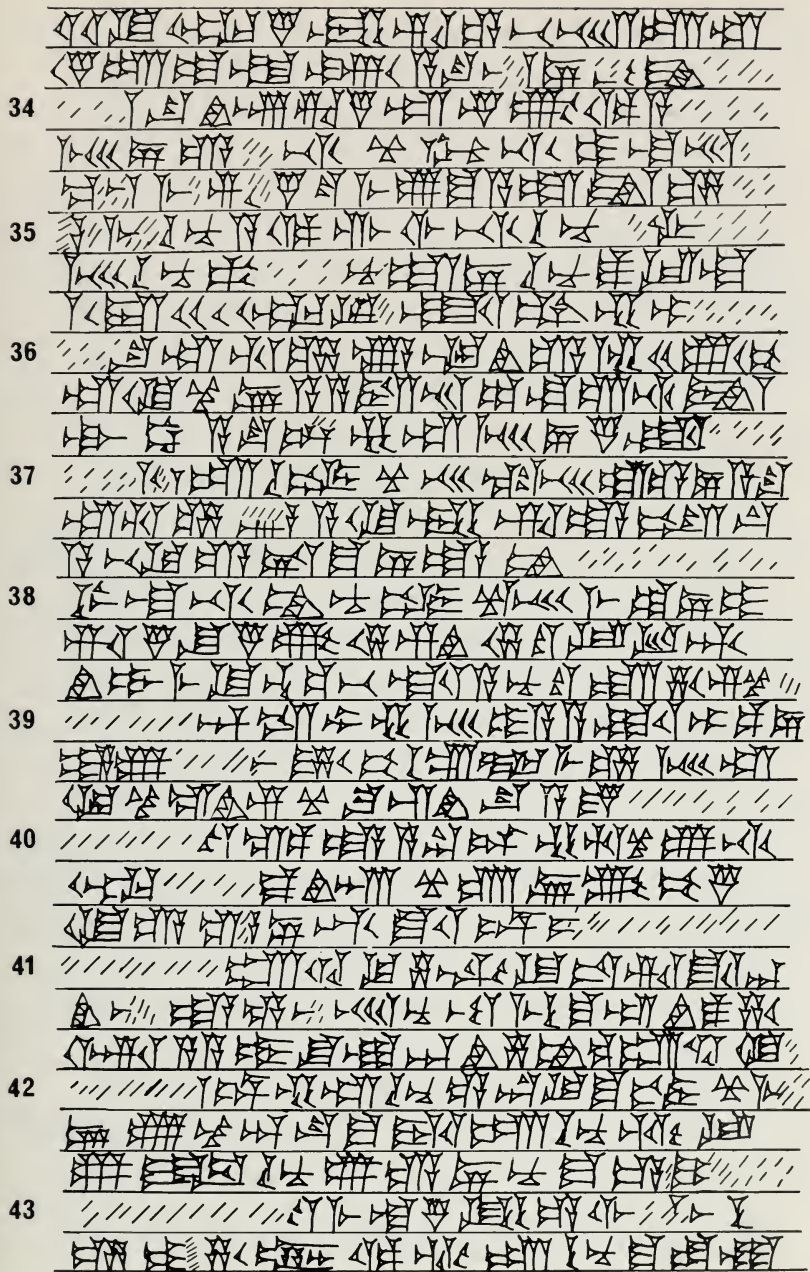


Fig. 8

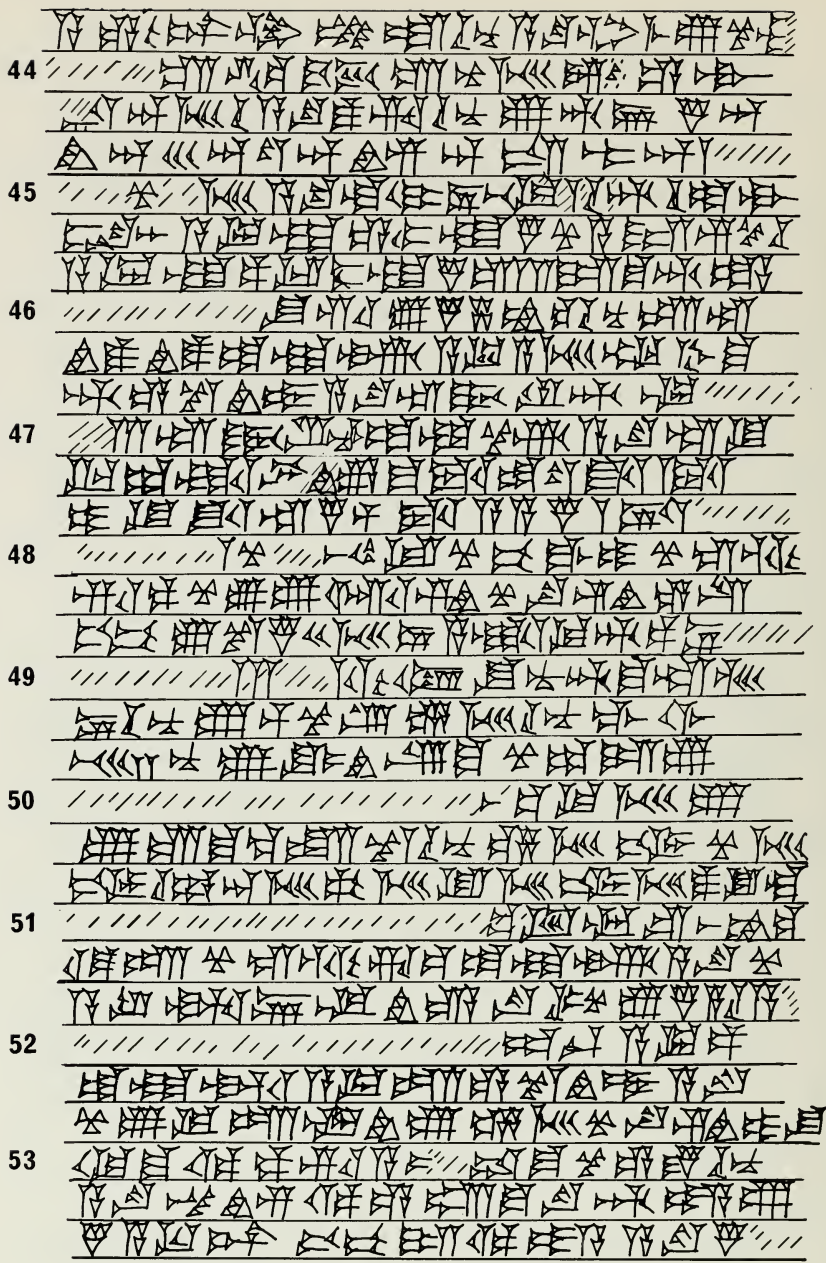


Fig. 9

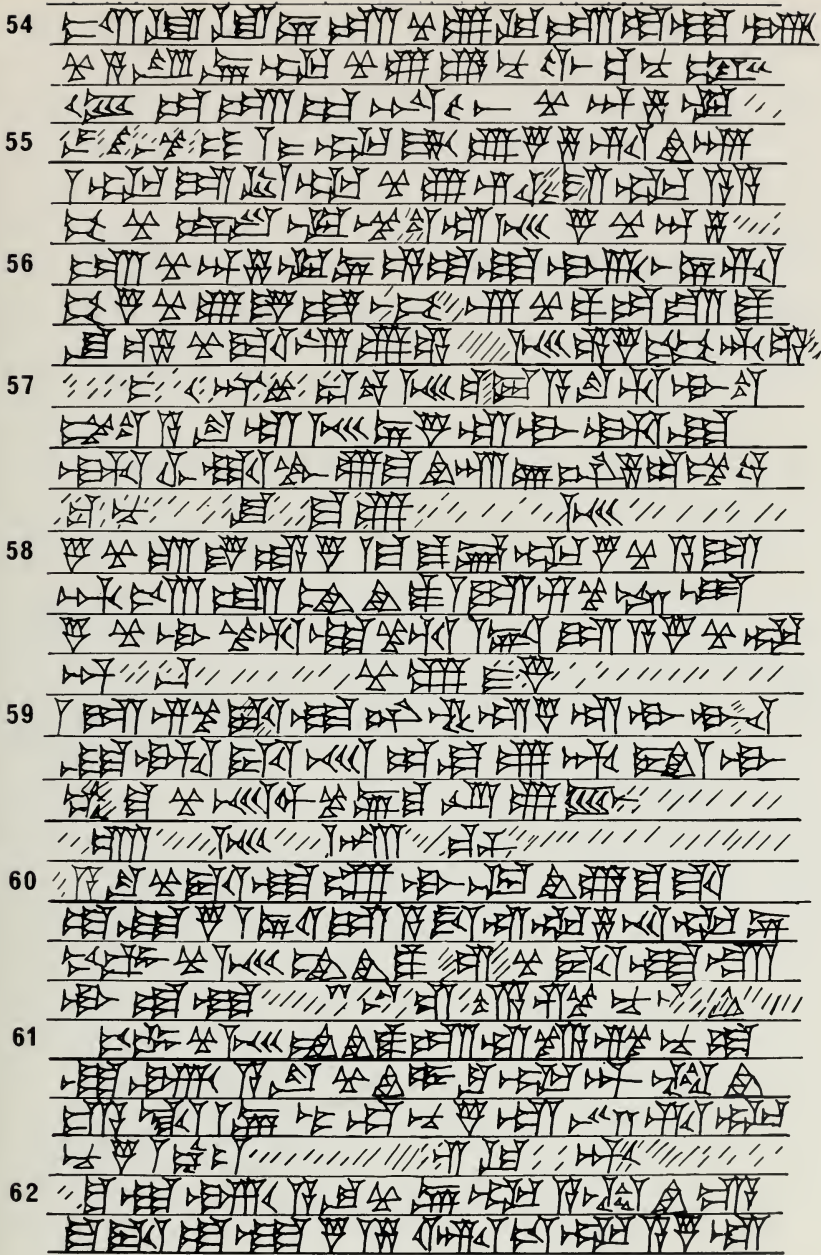


Fig. 10

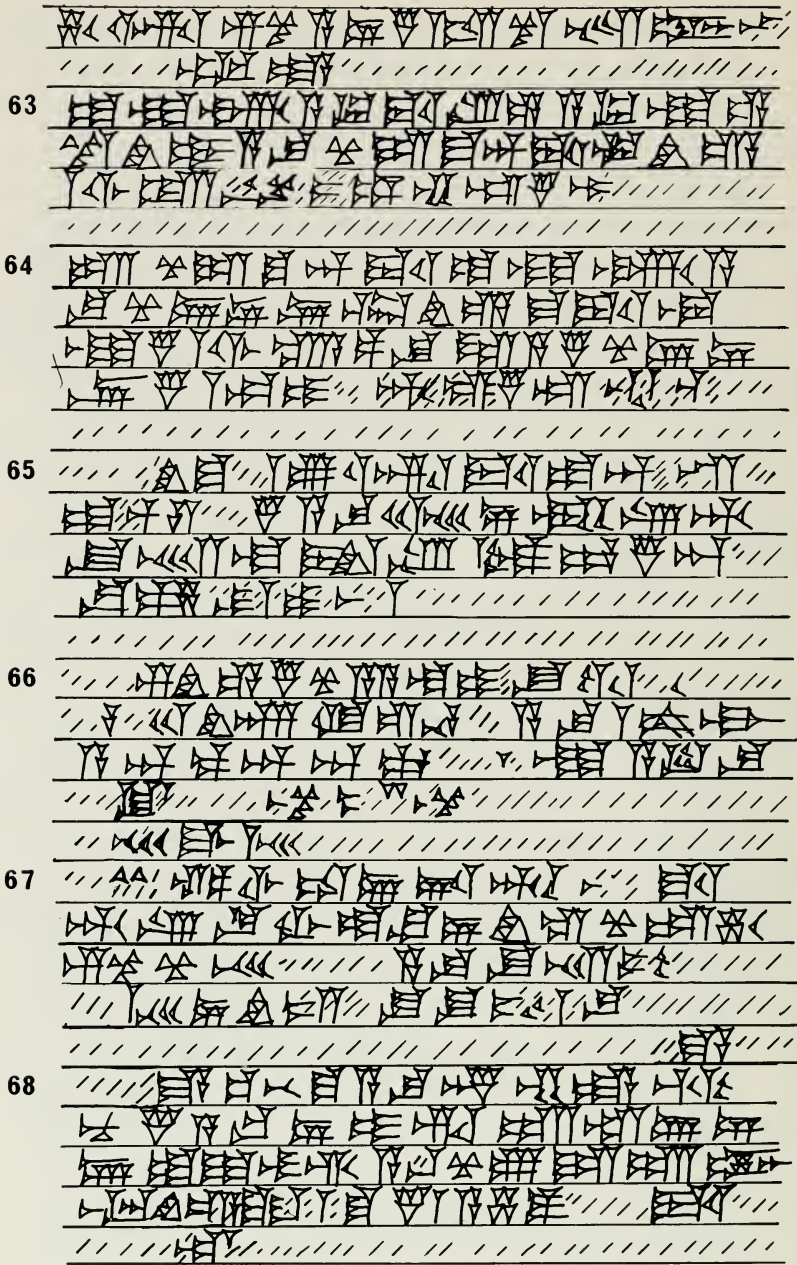


Fig. 11

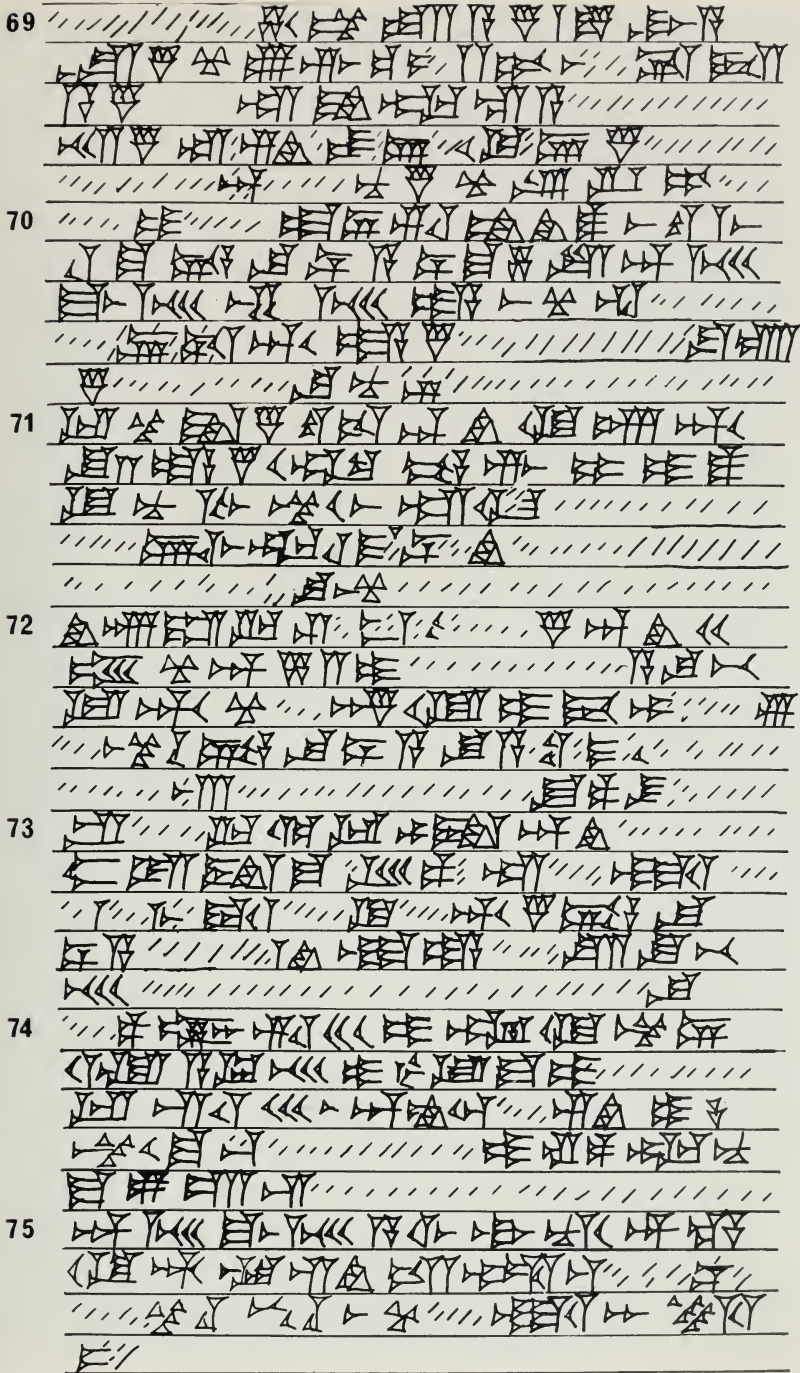


Fig. 12



Plate I *Stele of Tiglath Pileser III, front view*



Plate II *Stele of Tiglath Pileser III, side view*

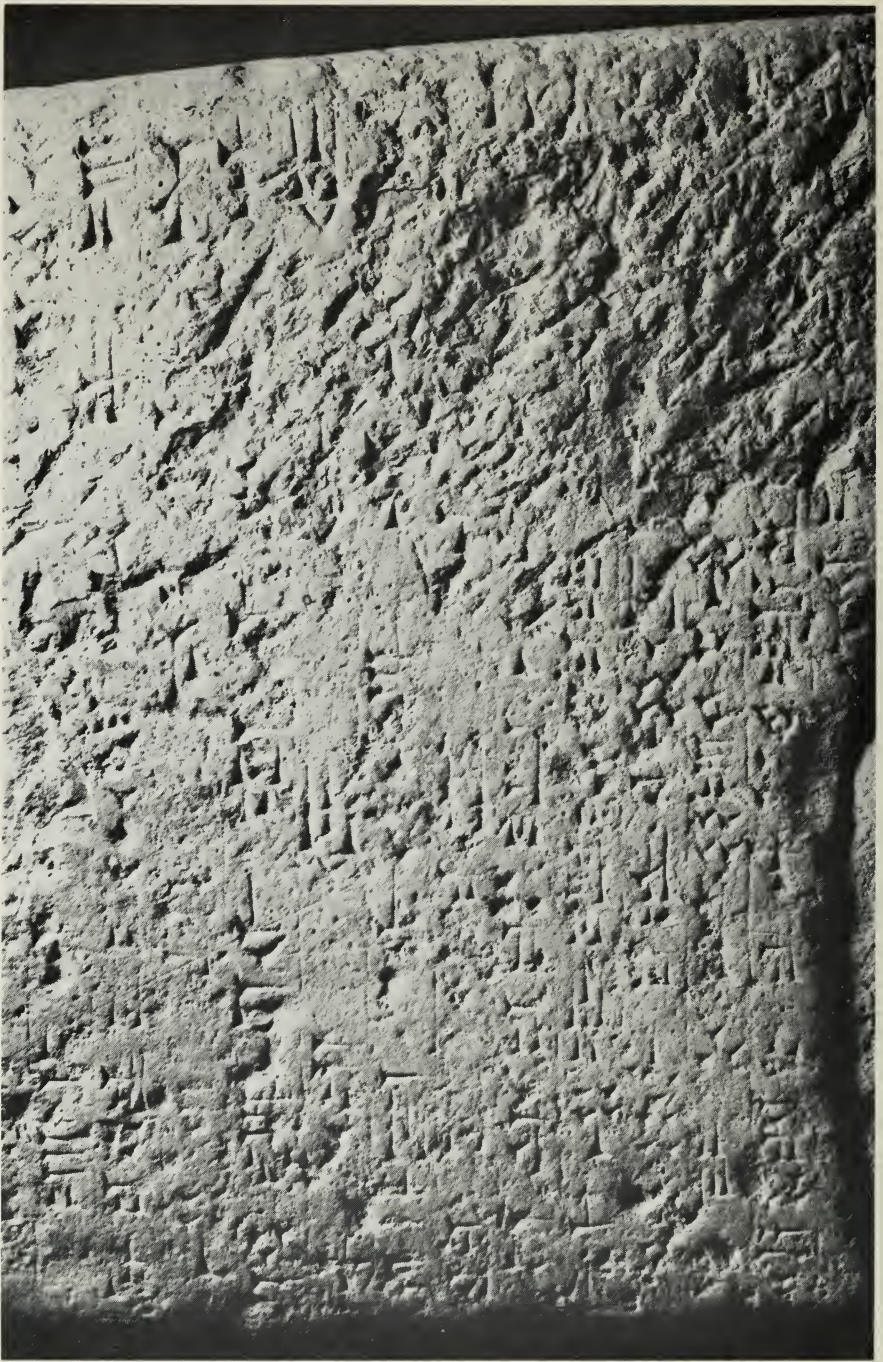




Plate IV *Stele of Tiglath Pileser III, detail of text, front bottom*

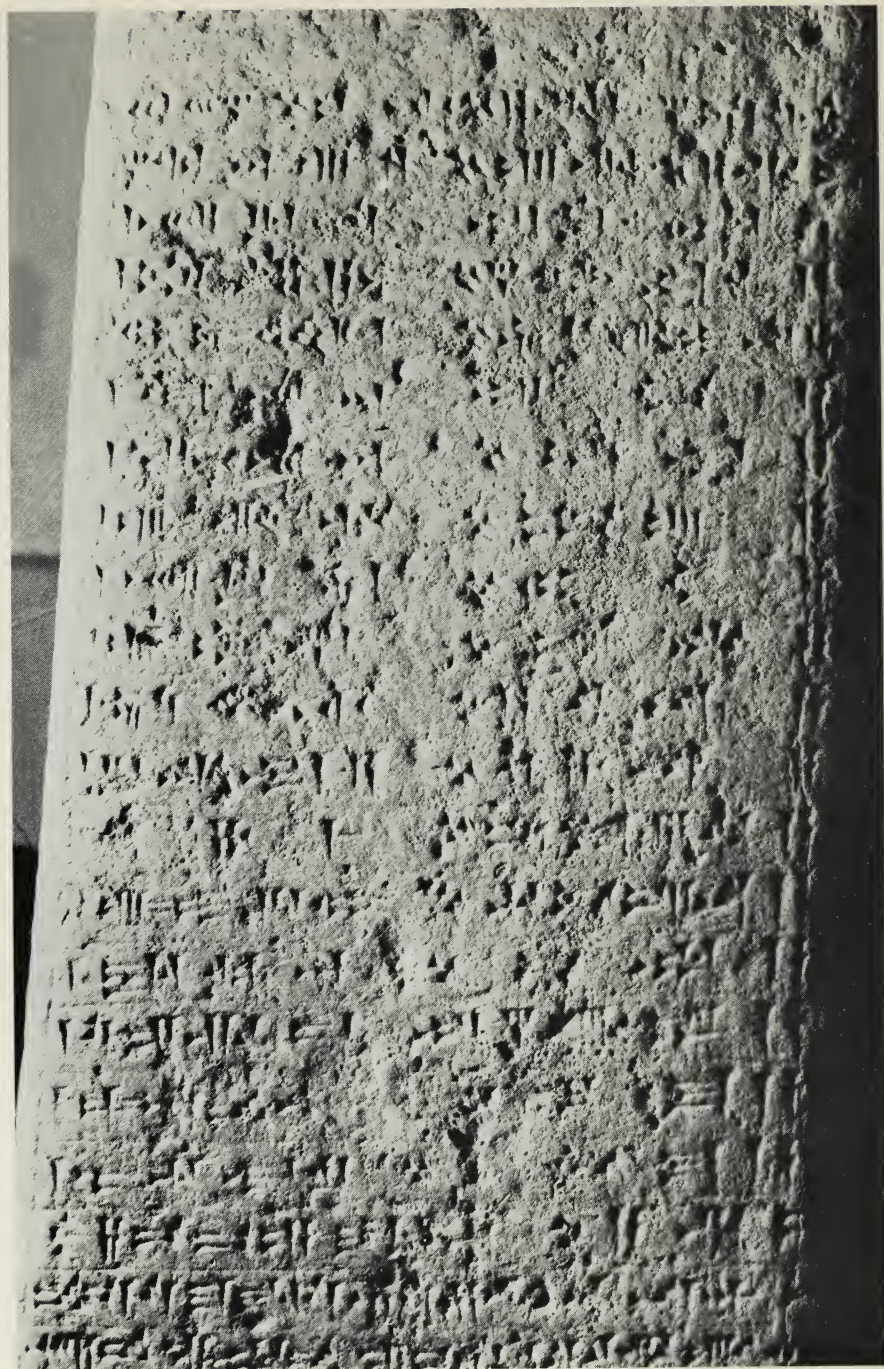


Plate V *Stele of Tiglath Pileser III, detail of text, side top*

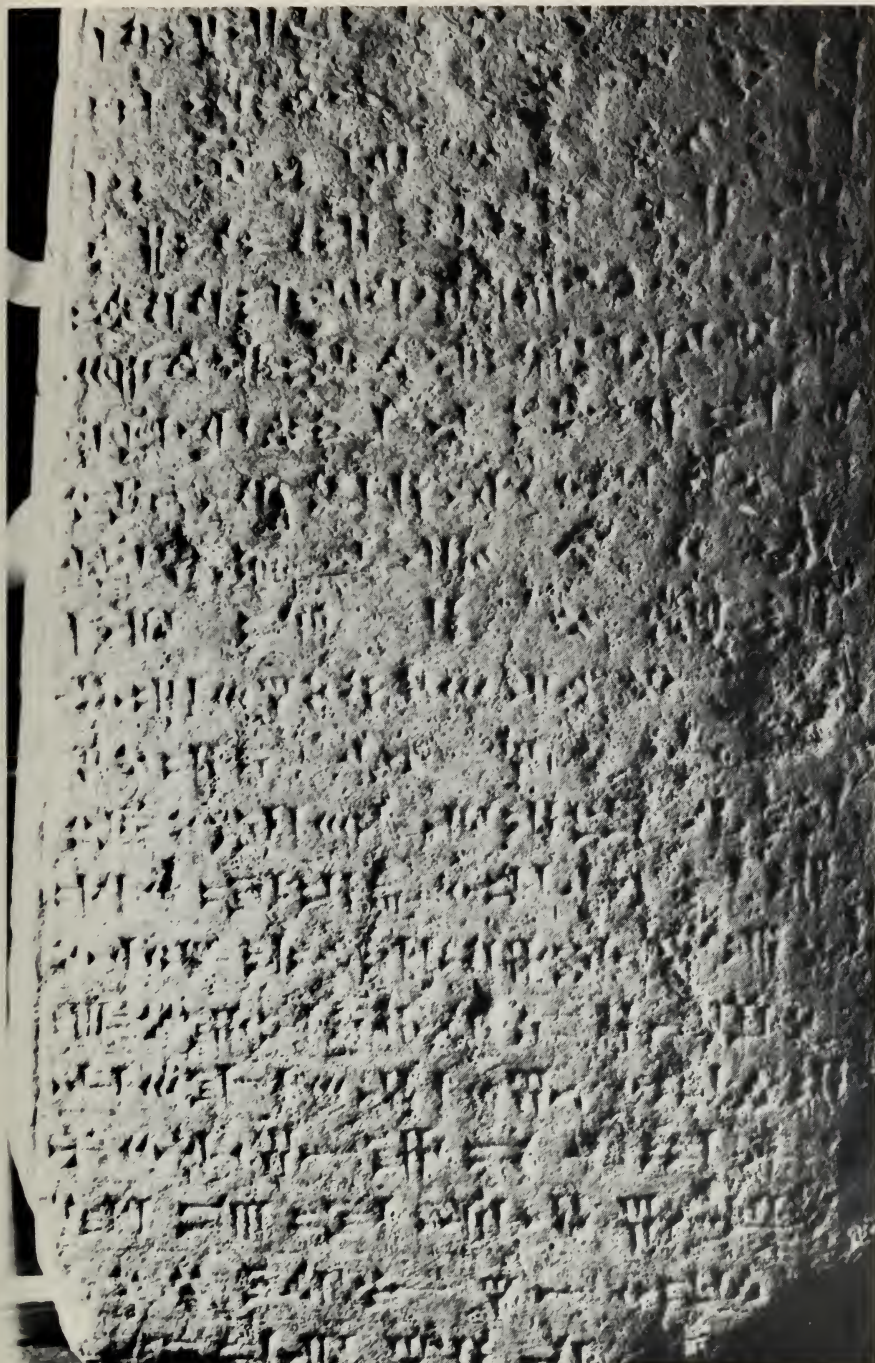


Plate VI *Stele of Tiglath Pileser III, detail of text, side bottom*



Plate VII *Stele of Sargon II, front view*

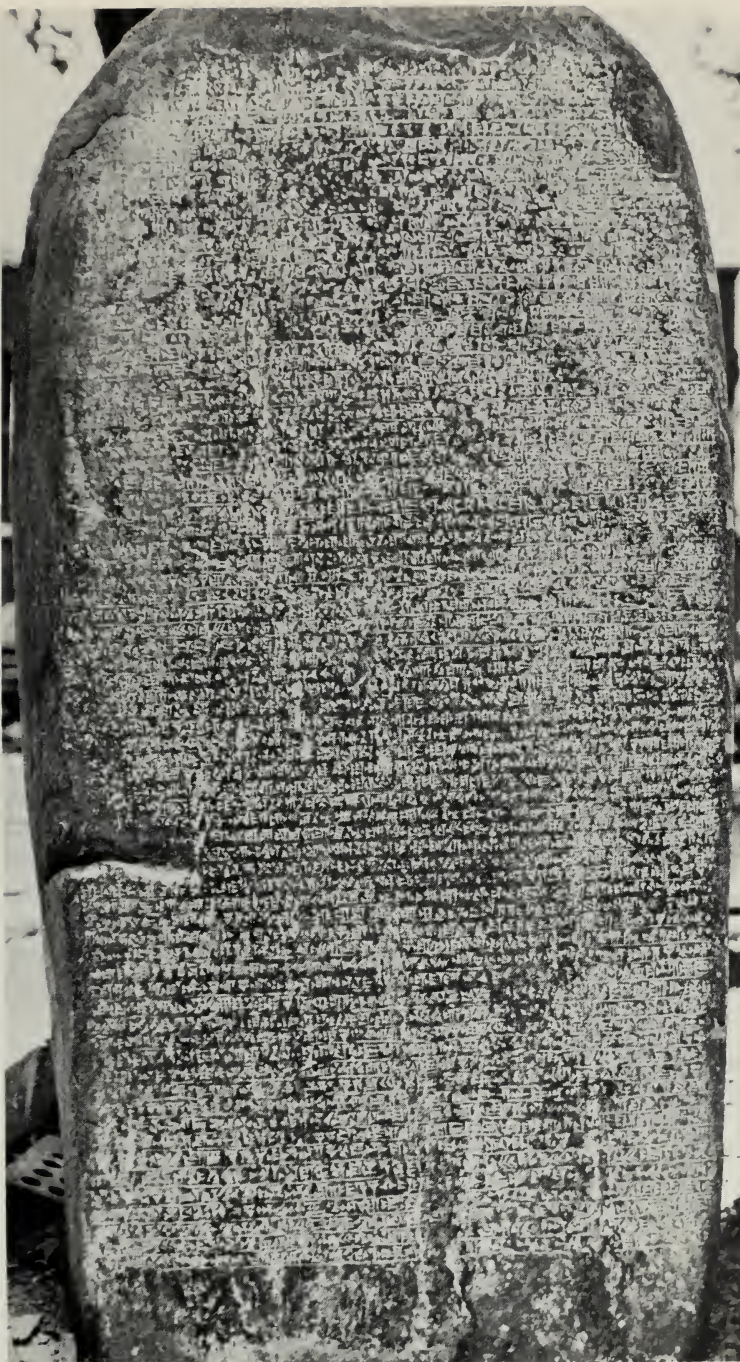


Plate VIII *Stele of Sargon II, back view*

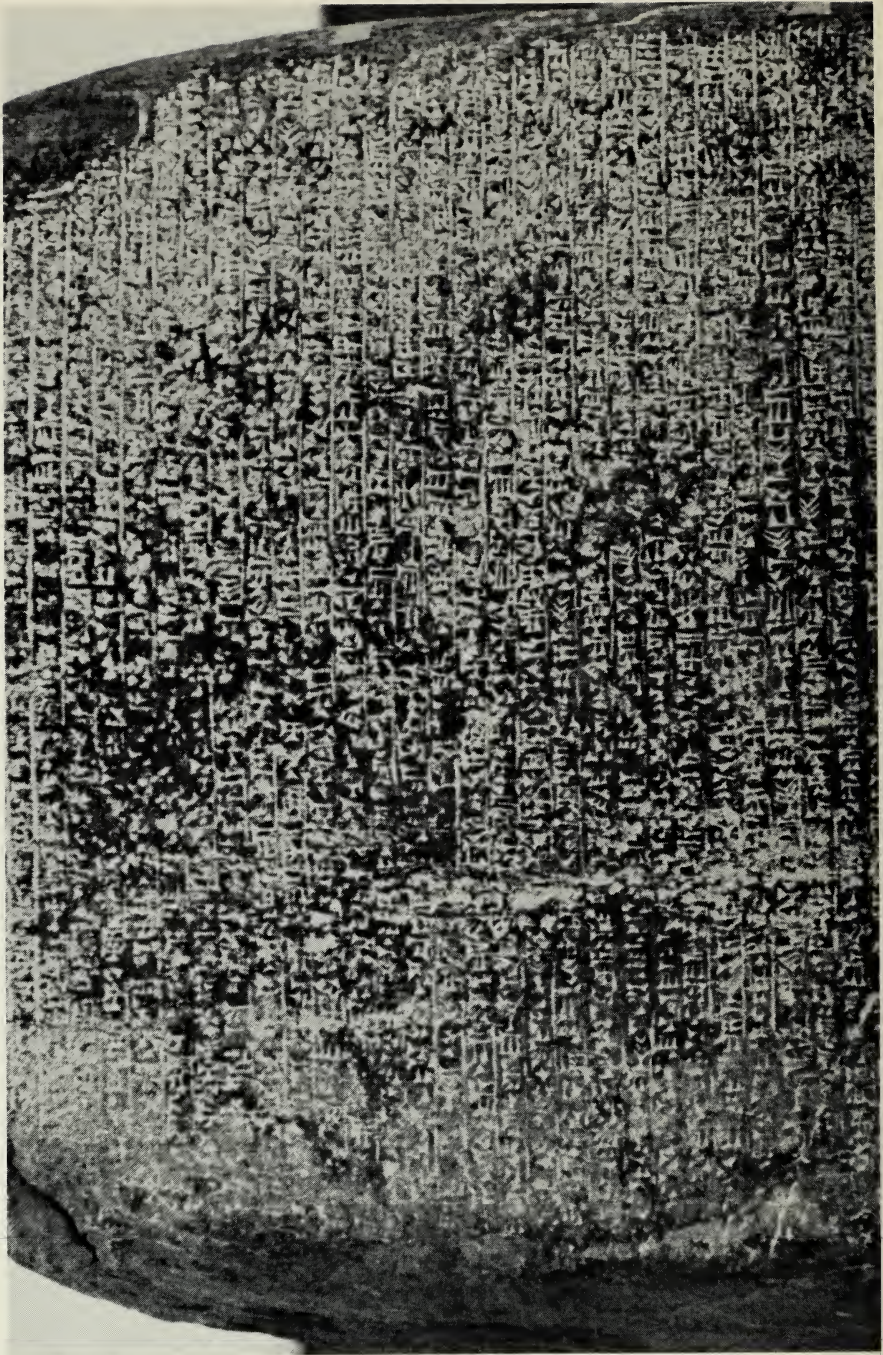


Plate IX *Stele of Sargon II, detail of text, top*

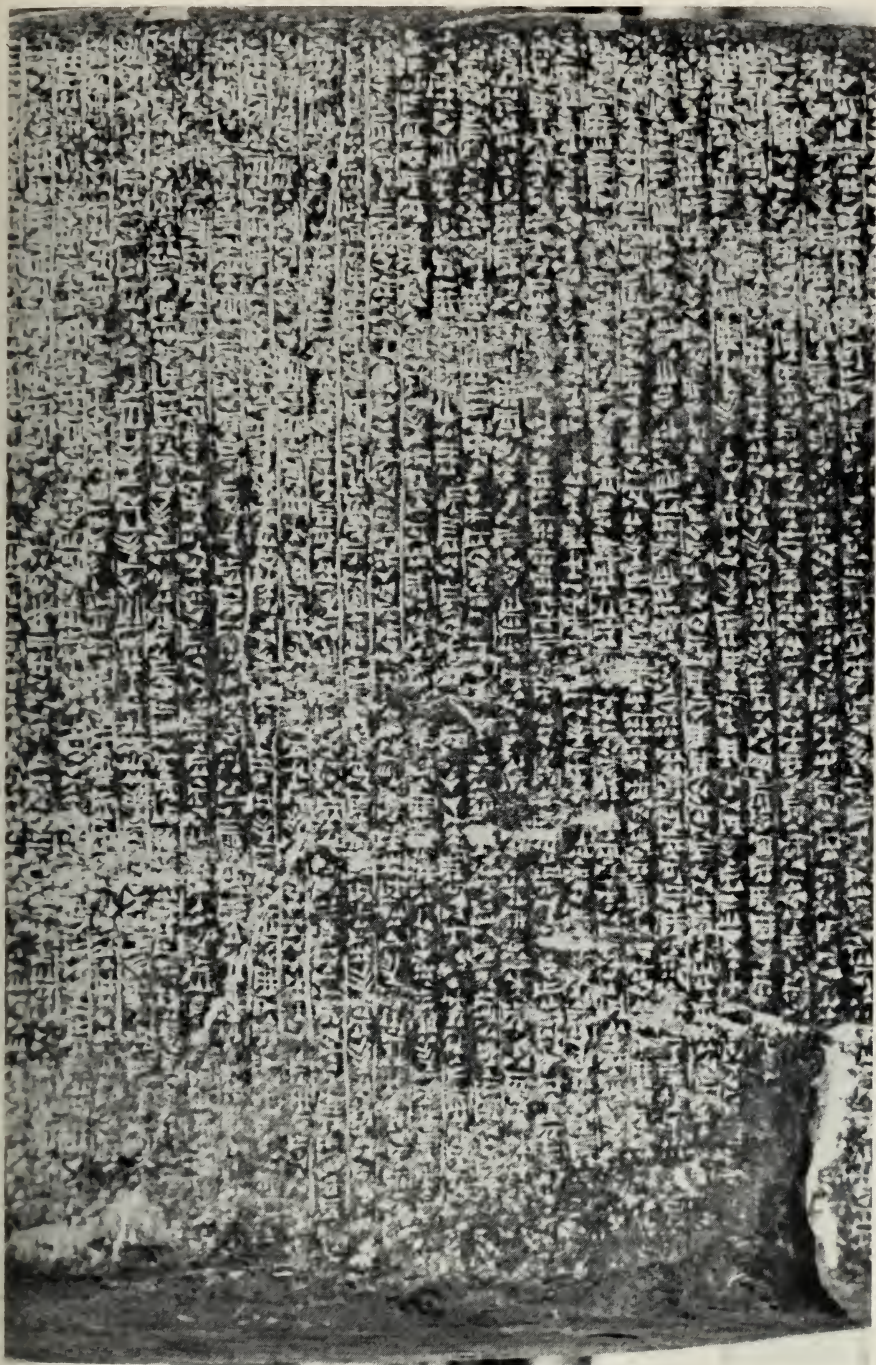


Plate X *Stele of Sargon II, detail of text, middle*

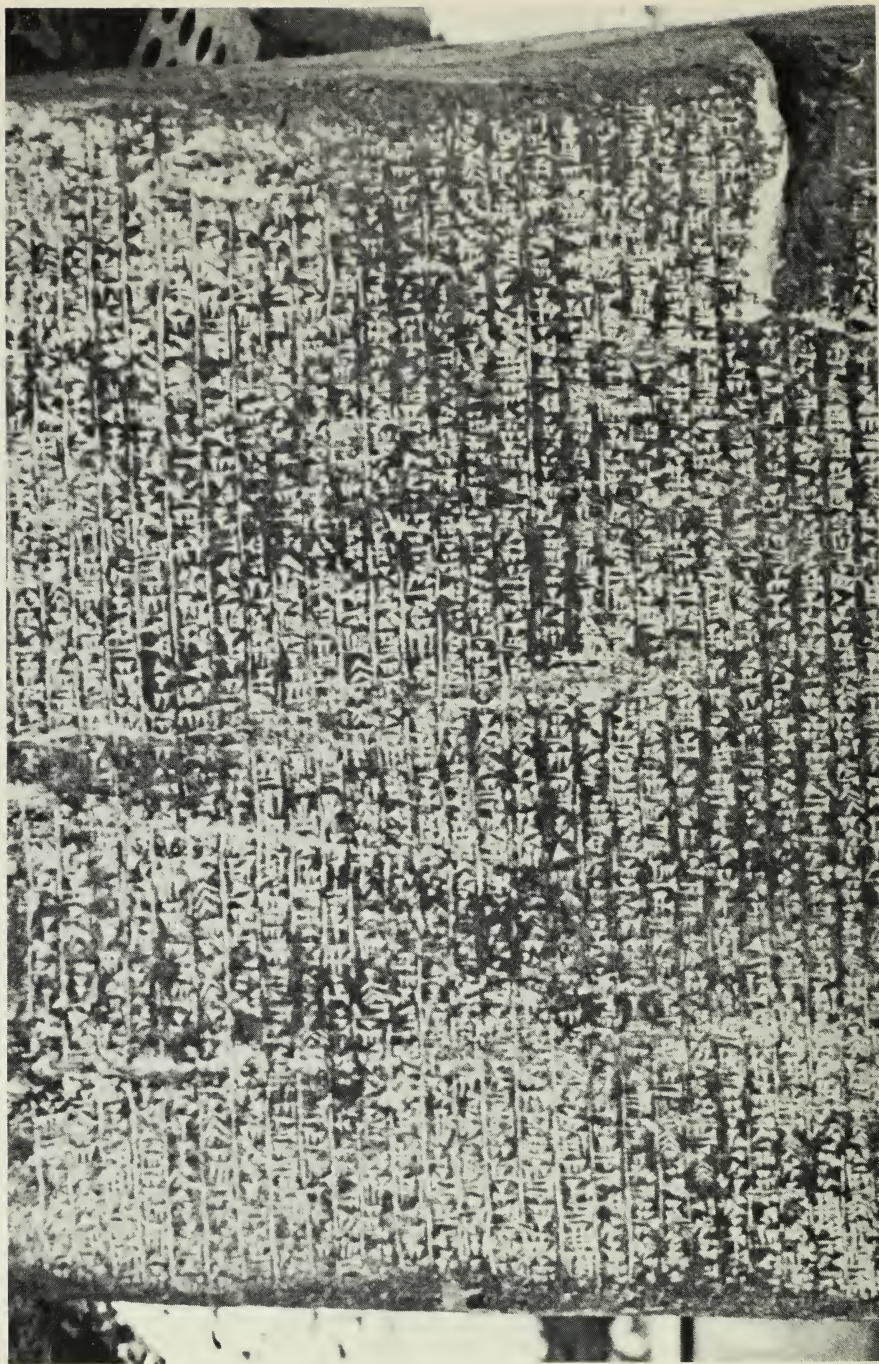


Plate XI *Stele of Sargon II, detail of text, bottom*

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